

THE

SPRING

1959

MIDDLE EAST *Journal*

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Vol. 13, No. 2

\$1.50



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Published quarterly by The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C. Subscription price, 1 year, \$6.00; 2 years, \$11.00. Single copies, \$1.50. No additional charge for postage. Mail all communications to The Middle East Journal, 1761 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Washington, D. C.

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THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

VOLUME 13

SPRING, 1959

NUMBER 2

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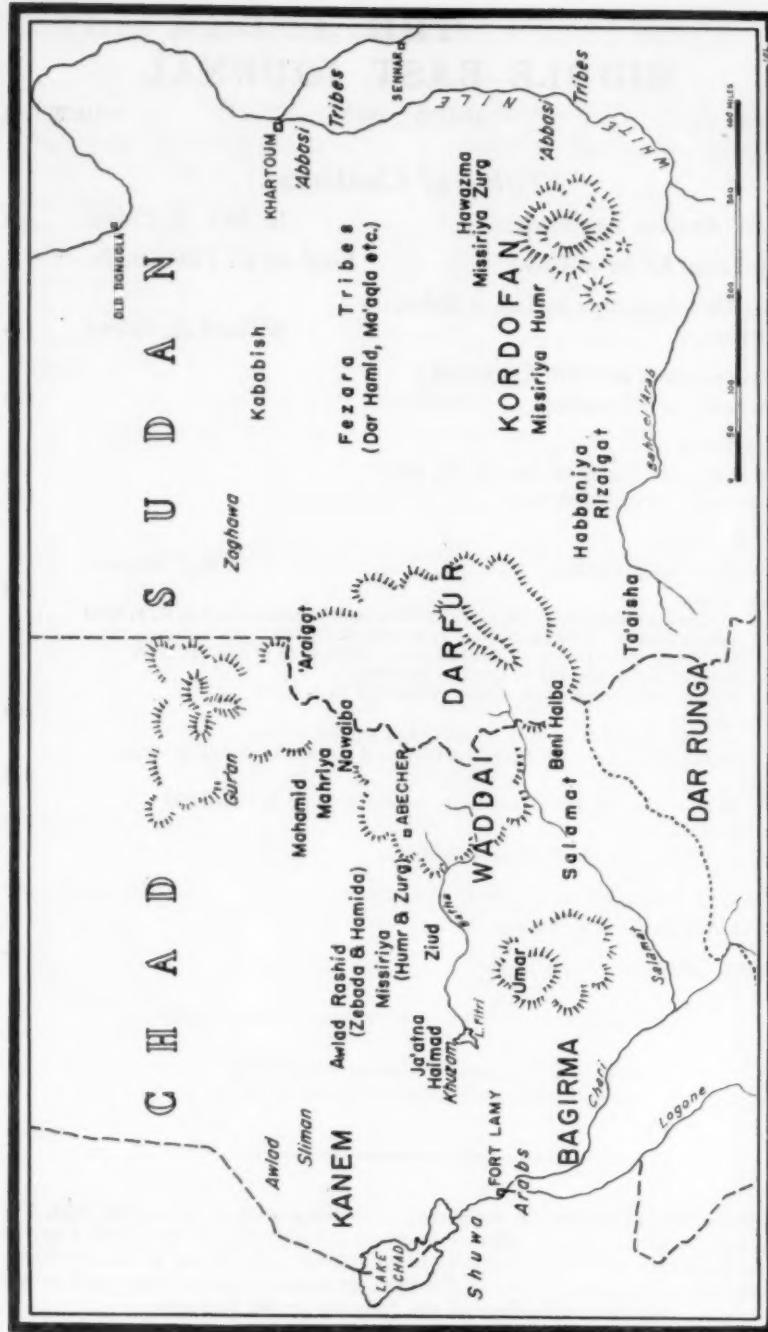
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The cover photograph is of the New Ministry of Finance in Riyadh.

THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL is indexed in *International Index
to Periodicals and Public Affairs Information Service*

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THE

MIDDLE

EAST

Journal

VOLUME 13

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RIYADH: ANCIENT AND MODERN

H. St.J. B. Philby

A HUNDRED years ago no European had ever set eyes upon Riyadh, though in 1819 Captain G. F. Sadlier had passed close to it on the south during his march from Manfuha to Dar'iya, the original Wahhabi capital which Riyadh was soon to supersede. It might have been thought then that the headquarters of the Arabian puritanism would remain forever beyond the reach of Western curiosity behind its impenetrable barrier of sand, xenophobia and religious bigotry. Yet it was just at that time that early Victorian youth was being tempted out of the trenches of Georgian insularity and self-satisfaction by the romantic travel tales of Alexandre Dumas, Jules Verne and others: tales for the most part based, be it remarked, on the scientific data available at the time, or on the reports of various adventures into unknown lands. It is obvious that the process could be reversed, with fiction posing as fact!

At any rate it was not long before the veil was torn asunder, to reveal the mysteries of central Arabia to an admiring and astonished world. During the last six months of 1862 W. G. Palgrave, starting at Gaza on the Mediterranean coast, had passed right through the heart of Arabia to Qatif on the Persian Gulf, having in the process spent "fifty days" (actually 38 days on his own showing) in Riyadh itself. His account of the journey created a profound sensation and brought him immediate fame (in spite of considerable scepticism on the part of certain experts, notably the learned Arabist G. P. Badger) for an exploit rarely

◆ H. ST.J. B. PHILBY, who lives in Riyadh, is the author of many works on the Arabian Peninsula, including *Arabian Highlands*, of which The Middle East Institute was co-publisher.

paralleled in the annals of exploration. A few years later, in 1865, a British official mission, headed by Sir Lewis Pelly, the then British Resident in the Persian Gulf, traveled from Kuwait to Riyadh and back: spending only a few days at the Wahhabi capital in talks with the aged Imam Faysal ibn Sa'ud and his heir apparent, 'Abdallah, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father a few months later. Nearly half a century was to elapse before another European visitor came to Riyadh. This was the Danish traveler, Barclay Raunkiaer, who spent less than 48 hours in the town in March 1912; and in December of the same year Captain G. E. Leachman, having traveled down from Damascus, spent a week in the palace as Ibn Sa'ud's guest before passing out of Arabia through Turkish-occupied Hasa. And, finally, during the spring of 1914 Captain W. H. I. Shakespear, then British Political Agent at Kuwait, spent three days in Riyadh in the course of his great journey from Kuwait to Suez: on the outbreak of war he was again sent to Ibn Sa'ud, but was killed in January 1915 during a battle at Jarab between the latter and the forces of Ibn Rashid. Mention must also be made of a brief visit to the Wahhabi capital in the summer of 1917 by Dr. Paul Harrison, a well-known American medical missionary of the Persian Gulf, who had been invited by Ibn Sa'ud to deal with some illness in the royal family.

Such then is the complete list of my European predecessors at Riyadh, where I arrived on November 30, 1917, almost exactly 55 years to the day after the departure of Palgrave therefrom. And it will be appreciated from what I have said above about their various sojourns that, with one single exception, none of them had had sufficient time for a thorough exploration of the capital and its surroundings. None of them indeed has attempted to present the world with anything but the most meager description of the place. The exception was, of course, Palgrave himself, who certainly cannot be accused of parsimony in the matter of historical, social and even geographical detail. Of him, Dr. D. G. Hogarth, the greatest authority of the time on Arabian lore, wrote in *The Penetration of Arabia* (p. 301), published in 1905: "Palgrave sojourned in Riad fifty days . . . and more conscious of responsibility to science in so inaccessible a spot than elsewhere, he has made shift to describe the physical and social features. . . . The accuracy of his general topography was borne out by the report of his successor, Pelly. . . ."

Such a judgment was entitled to respect; and, in spite of the informed criticism and scepticism of Richard Burton, G. P. Badger and others well qualified to form an opinion on Palgrave's achievement, it was in fact the verdict which held the field for some 70 years until 1919: when I appealed against it with much new evidence in support of the earlier prosecution. During my first year in Arabia I had spent 70 days in

Riyadh, and had seen a great deal of the rest of the country; and the more I saw the more skeptical I became regarding the veracity and reliability of Palgrave. In the end I came to the conclusion that, while the whole of his story was in all probability a deliberate fabrication, he had certainly never visited Riyadh! For 70 years the world had been content to be deceived by a totally false picture of Arabia (south of al-Qasim) and of the Wahhabi capital. That, I think, is the view which prevails in responsible circles today: it is stated very clearly and trenchantly in the most recent survey of Arabian exploration, Mademoiselle Jacqueline Pirenne's *A la découverte de l'Arabie*, published in Paris last year.

The point need not be pursued further here. Palgrave's description of the town of 1862 was almost ludicrously inapplicable to the Riyadh of 1917, or indeed of twenty years later. Yet a word of caution is necessary: a modern visitor to the capital of Saudi Arabia might justly say exactly the same about all my descriptions of the place prior to the end of the Second World War. There is indeed no resemblance whatever between the great city of today and the tight little walled town, which served for close on forty years as the headquarters of the great Ibn Sa'ud during his campaigns for the conquest and unification of Arabia. And it is important to remember that that task had been well and truly completed at a time when he had neither money, nor arms, nor trained army, nor friends to help him in his need. He had achieved his objective entirely by his own strong will and unshakable confidence in his destiny; and it was only after its attainment that he himself took the initiative in laying the foundations of undreamed-of prosperity for his desert realm.

As for my descriptions of the old place and the old régime which I loved so well, and whose passing I still regret, I had the advantage over Palgrave (who "never returned [*sic*] to Arabia") of spending the rest of my life in the country: watching and recording, step by step, the process of change, at first gradual and tentative, but later with ever-increasing and almost reckless tempo, by which the transformation scene which greets the visitor of today has been achieved. It is still very far from complete and there is no knowing how far it will go; but building, and ever more building, is the order of the day: to say nothing of the accompanying demolition of old-style houses (of clay) to make room for the concrete and stucco monuments of exotic Western architecture. Ribbon development is proceeding apace along the tarmac roads stretching far out into the desert in every direction, with innumerable claims to building sites already staked out to immense distances from the center in apparent confidence that the all-important problem of water supply will be satisfactorily solved in due course. It is however the pace rather than the fact of this development program which impresses the observer;

and one might almost say, with the aldermen of the island of Jersey, that the Riyadh municipality is "trying to do too much too quickly!"

Be that as it may, the old walled town of my early days (see plan in my *The Heart of Arabia*, p. 70) measured some 700 yards from north to south, and about 650 yards from east to west. It was hemmed in by magnificent palm groves on all sides except for the northeastern section, where the east wall ran along the edge of the Batha torrent-bed, while the eastern part of the north wall abutted on the great cemetery, in which the Imam Turki, who had adopted Riyadh as the capital of the Wahhabi state after the destruction of Dar'iya by Ibrahim Pasha in 1818, and his grandson, Sa'ud ibn Faysal, lie in their undistinguished and neglected graves. Northward of this cemetery lay another long line of rich palm groves, while more groves spread out from the left, or eastern, bank of the Batha channel to a considerable depth eastwards, while a strip of bare ground further south on the same bank was set apart for a new royal burial place on the death of the Imam Faysal in 1865, who lies there with all those of his descendants who have since departed this life. Apart from a few scattered and modest dwellings, and in particular the Shamsiya palace of Faysal's great-grandson Sa'ud (still alive)* about a mile from the town, in the midst of these surrounding palm groves, there was no accommodation for the population of Riyadh outside the walled town itself; in which I reckoned roughly that there might be as many as 30,000 souls at most.

There is little left today of the great green belt which then encompassed the town. The peace of Ibn Sa'ud and the unification of Arabia tended to draw Bedouin and other elements into the capital, where they were assured of the traditional hospitality of the princes, and of medical attention to their various ills (ophthalmia, tuberculosis and the like), to say nothing of the spiritual guidance provided in the mosque schools by the doughtiest champions of the Wahhabi creed. The short visits originally contemplated merged imperceptibly into longer sojourns as the prospect of profitable employment on constructional or other work developed. The Bedouin came with their hair tents, built mud walls round them to keep out the wind, and then roofed the walls to create hutments. Hamlets sprang up in close proximity to the protecting walls of the town, and soon grew into villates, while the well-to-do citizens of Riyadh sought relief from the cramped quarters in which they lived by expansion outside the walls. It was at the expense of the palm groves that they expanded; the value of the land rose sharply, until it exceeded the value of the date harvest; and the palms were cut down without mercy to make room for dwellings. There was in those days no question of seeking

*He died at the age of 76 as these words were being written on 2/24/59.

relief from overcrowding in the wide desert spaces beyond the groves: age-long tradition still imposed upon the most adventurous caution against needless exposure to possible enemy attack. So the amenities of the green belt were sacrificed to accommodate an ever-growing population, drawn for the most part at this stage from the indigenous elements of Ibn Sa'ud's realm. The "foreign" invasion had not then begun, and such "foreigners" as there were in Riyadh were expected to conform strictly to the Wahhabi code of dress and manners.

It was Ibn Sa'ud himself who set the fashion of desert development when, in 1938, he moved out of town into a new castellated palace, which had been built for him on the site of a small ruined grange known as al-Murabba', a little way beyond the Shamsiya mansion of his cousin. A concrete motor road linked it with the town, where the old palace of Turki and Faysal continued to serve as the center of the administration as before, in unchanged surroundings with the great mosque and the main marketplace in close proximity. In due course the crown prince, the present king, built himself a palace on the Murabba' site, while a spacious mansion was added to it, to serve as the royal guest house. The Amir Faysal followed suit with a palace for himself on the concrete road half-way between Murabba, and the town, though he never occupied it as it was soon taken over as an additional guest house. In those days, incidentally, no one visited Riyadh except with the king's permission, and all who did so were the king's guests. Then, soon after the war when the post-first-war generation of the king's sons was coming of age and settling down to married life, a score or so of palatial mansions of identical pattern sprang up for their accommodation in a new quarter called al-Futa, at the expense of the palm groves screening the Murabba' palace from the northwestern corner of the town. In all this building program the traditional architecture of Najd was rigidly adhered to; and the expanding town continued to preserve the character of the core, from which it had grown outwards to cover an area at least ten times as great, with a population about double that of the old town. In the process the west wall, with its two gates, had succumbed to the pressure of the advancing masons towards a ring of undistinguished suburbs, established beyond the palm belt by immigrants from the provinces in search of work. To the southeast also some fine groves had made way for a substantial extension of the town to accommodate the royal garage and motor repair shops, as well as the new wireless station (set up in 1931): while, on the east bank of the Batha channel, a large suburb had grown up to meet the needs of a new element of the population, the chauffeurs and mechanics from many Muslim lands, attracted to Arabia by the high wages obtainable for their services, to say nothing of the

unlimited opportunities of increasing their earnings by theft and peculation. To say the least, it was an unpleasant community, a running sore on the flank of a society which, at that time and at every level, was a model of good manners and moral rectitude. But *facilis descensus averno!* The Saudi Government has never been able to impose upon it that respect for law and order which is the hallmark of a civilized State.

Such was the Riyadh of the twilight period between the dark night of its primeval penury and the sudden dawn of its present undreamed-of prosperity. The oil had, of course, already been found in al-Hasa; but its exploitation had been severely limited by the requirements of Allied war policy. Nevertheless the prospect for the future was reasonably bright, though no one at that time suspected the possibility of the brilliance which it ultimately attained. And it was not until 1946 that the first substantial dividends were to find their way into the Saudi treasury. By a curious coincidence it was at the beginning of the same year that Ibn Sa'ud, having visited Egypt in 1945 to meet President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, was able to accept the invitation of King Faruq to pay a State visit to his kingdom. He could not, and did not, fail to compare the immense prosperity of the country with the poverty and backwardness of his own realm, with which he had been content all his life. And henceforth, he determined, progress would be the order of the day: beginning with Riyadh itself, which he would link forthwith by railway to some suitable port on the Persian Gulf, even as Cairo was linked with Alexandria! He had in 1945 been presented with a Dakota plane by President Roosevelt; and he had with some difficulty been able to convince the ecclesiastical authorities of the capital of the lawfulness of its use for the improvement of the country's communications. So Riyadh had been provided with a suitable landing ground at a reasonable distance from the town; and the religious leaders agreed that, the ice having thus been broken once, there could be no valid reason against its being broken again by a railway. But he was now met by expert economic arguments against his cherished project: the railway could never pay its way, the country could not afford such a luxury, and so forth. He brushed them all aside, insisting on absolute priority being given to the project; and in October 1951 he had the immense satisfaction of presiding personally at the official ceremony of the opening of the line (550 kilometers) on the arrival of the first train from Dammam. His foresight has since been brilliantly vindicated: the economic position in Riyadh was improved out of all recognition by the drop in the cost of transport of all essential commodities; and one thing is certain: without the railway the modernization of Riyadh would have been quite impossible, or at best no more than a dream project for a quite unpredictable future.

If Ibn Sa'ud did not live to see the full flowering of his enterprise, he had at least bequeathed to his successor the key to the promised land. And Sa'ud himself was well equipped by his recent foreign travels (in Egypt and India during the war, and in America soon thereafter) to realize the possibilities of development in a country now assured of funds amply sufficient to make the desert "blossom like the rose." Hitherto the example of desert conversion generally held up for the world's admiration had been the Jewish development in Palestine; but Sa'ud was soon to show that it was not a question of enterprise, but a simple matter of finance. He had acquired a taste for elegant buildings and ornamental gardens; and it was while he was still crown prince that he sponsored the first real experiment in the modernization of Riyadh. About three miles west of the town lay the well and four-acre garden plot of Nasiriya, a favorite *rendez-vous* of the old king for his afternoon outings. And it was here that Sa'ud decided to develop an estate worthy of his high rank and his progressive views. Deeper wells were dug out in the neighborhood with astonishing results; fruit and ornamental trees, imported from America and elsewhere, were planted by expert gardeners from India and Bukhara; and constructional experts from India and Syria were soon at work on laying down an immensely thick concrete foundation for a huge two-story country palace where, within a year or two, the crown prince was entertaining his father's guests from the ends of the earth: most of them from countries whose post-war austerity contrasted strangely with the lavish hospitality of Arabia Deserta! The little desert well-plot of lucerne and a few palms had with astonishing speed been converted into a hundred-acre pleasure of lawns and flower-beds, tree-lined avenues and bowers of flowering shrubs, orangeries and orchards and woodland with ornamental trees, to say nothing of its swimming pools, its tennis courts and other recreational facilities. In it, beside and around the palace itself, were a mosque and a fine school for the children of the court, and a football ground complete with grandstand and all that. At a somewhat later stage a zoo was added to the amenities of the palace grounds, to accommodate one of the earliest VIP's to visit Riyadh by air: it was a lion from Africa!

I have dealt in some detail with Nasiriya because it undoubtedly represented the first step forward in the modernization of Riyadh. Its creation necessitated the undertaking of an elaborate road program to link it with the Murabba' palace and the town by a wide two-way *auto-strad*, divided by a central line of flower beds. From it branched a similar termac road leading to the railway station in one direction, and to the airport in another. And in due course, from this nucleus of essential traffic lines, more modern roads spread out in every direction, round and

through the old town, and out of it to the summer palace of Badi'a, in the main channel of Wadi Hanifa, and to the other princely gardens and mansions which were soon to spring up under the inspiration of the Nasiriya model. Somewhat later the program embraced the wide tarmac roads which now make the trip to Dar'iya and Kharj a pleasure instead of the penance it was in the old desert days: while, still more recently a start has been made on roads which will eventually link Riyadh with Mecca and the Persian Gulf, to say nothing of the intermediate centers of population on the way. Only the project of extending the railway to Mecca, by way of the Qasim province, Madina and Jidda seems to lag somewhat in the execution, while the problem of the repair of Hijaz Railway between Madina and Damascus still remains unaccountably a problem which has been under active (*sic*) consideration for more than thirty years. The present tendency seems to favor motorable roads over railways.

The treatment of the historic core of the old town was obviously a matter requiring the most careful consideration and delicate handling, while the obvious unsuitability of its narrow, crooked streets for motor traffic presented a serious problem. But, strangely enough, it was the great mosque, the very keystone of Wahhabi history and so typical of Wahhabi mentality, with its flat roof and dumpy minarets, which first engaged the reforming zeal of Sa'ud, to whom, as the representative of future generations, his father had committed the task of remoulding the Saudi capital. And he certainly did proceed first to "shatter it to bits" as a preliminary to its modernization. The clay mosque and a large area of houses around it were leveled to the ground, and in their place arose the new cathedral, of concrete, with its two tall minarets and graceful colonnades. The old palace of the Imam Turki soon followed suit, to be replaced by a huge building of exotic design: housing and law-courts, the offices of the governor of the Riyadh province, and spacious audience chambers for the use of the king on ceremonial occasions. Modern shops soon began to line the streets converging on this center; modern roads radiated from it in every direction, and the old clay houses on their fringes were demolished to make way for their concrete or masonry successors; the walls of the town were demolished. The value of land in the old town and its immediate neighborhood rose sharply, and there was a well-authenticated case of a desirable building site changing hands at a price of 7000 riyals *per* square meter (say \$2000). In fact the only historic building which has so far survived the iconoclastic fervor of the age is the famous castle of Mismak, built a hundred years ago by 'Abdallah, the son and heir of the Imam Faysal, still bearing in its solid wooden door the broken spearhead which com-

memorates the triumph of Ibn Sa'ud in 1902, and used until recently as a prison. In that role it has now been superseded by a new jail of modern type, far out beyond the area now known as New Riyadh, and close to the new zoo, which has displaced that of Nasiriya to relieve the palace grounds of the immense crowds which patronized it to see the monkeys and the other animals (lions galore and tigers, elephants and rhinoceroses, etc.)

The rapid development of air and rail traffic, to say nothing of the motors, has attracted visitors from all parts of the world in such numbers as to outstrip the capacity of the traditional guest rite arrangements. To provide accommodation for them, no fewer than three large first-class hotels have come into being within the last five years: one by the station, and the other two on the airport road, along which the Government has built an imposing row of great modern buildings to house the various ministries of the administration and the military establishments, including a staff college and a military hospital. The health of the civilian community is catered to by three major hospitals, a maternity clinic and several minor institutions. And the youth of the city have nothing to complain of in the matter of schools, both secular and religious, while a new boarding school near the Nasiriya palace has recently been completed, though it has not yet been brought into use: when it is, it will surely rank among the best colleges in the world in the matter of accommodation and educational facilities. Mention must also be made of the new King Sa'ud University, which has made a modest start in the New Riyadh area during the past year, and of the Nasiriya Museum, whose building has been completed, though it has not yet received the exhibits, now temporarily accommodated in the museum at Jidda.

Space does not admit of more than the mere mention of the new Municipal Hall and Public Library in New Riyadh, or of the race course with its new grandstand, or of the many football fields and other recreational centers, or of the charming gardens which break the monotony of modern buildings at numerous selected spots. They all show that careful attention has been paid by the local authorities, under the king's own inspiration and guidance, to the essential requirements of a modern city of some 300,000 inhabitants, covering an area of about 100 square kilometers and spreading out in all directions from the old 100-acre "heart of Arabia." Needless to say, the problem of water supply to this huge area has not been neglected: the whole area is covered by a network of pipes bringing water from two localities in Wadi Hanifa; and in addition there are the original wells, now worked by mechanical pumps, as well as a number of artesian bores of immense potential capacity. A

rough estimate would seem to suggest that the daily consumption of water in modern Riyadh cannot be much less than ten million gallons a day.

In conclusion, even as it was King Sa'ud himself who led the way in the modernization of his capital with the building of his summer palace and pleasures of Nasiriya, it is probable that he never regarded that venture as more than an experiment in preparation for greater things. At any rate, not many years later, he had the courage to order the complete demolition of the whole structure to make way for a new palace more consonant with the dignity of a realm which has established for itself a secure place in the comity of the world's nations. And it must be admitted that the finest group of buildings in modern Riyadh is the new palace complex of Nasiriya, as seen from the rise at the eastern end of its long tamarisk avenue. The material used throughout is a pink-tinted concrete, which blends easily with the greenery of the gardens, and gives the impression of sandstone. In the center stands the flat-domed mass of the king's own residence, set back in luxurious gardens, adorned with ornamental lakes and flowering shrubs and trees. On the left, as one faces it, are the royal Diwan (comprising the offices of the secretariat, the audience chamber and the banqueting hall), the great mosque and the museum; while, on the right are the mansions of the ladies of the court. In truth it may be said that King Sa'ud has well and truly earned the title of "master-builder." *Si monumentum quaeris, respice!* The Riyadh of today is indeed a monument to his achievement. And, if no more than half a dozen Europeans had had the privilege of seeing the old walled town of immortal memory before I did, tens of thousands have had the pleasure of measuring the progress which has been made since those far-off days. In very sooth,

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfills himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

* * * *

If the physical transformation of Riyadh has transcended the wildest dreams of those who knew it of old, it has been accompanied by a social and spiritual revolution, which is even more astonishing to those who knew the men who created the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Obviously the religious zeal and fanaticism of that generation could not be expected to burn indefinitely at white heat, as they consumed the fuel supplies within their reach. But it may well be asked how it has all happened and why. That question was indeed put to a senior and once highly orthodox member of the royal family; and his answer was both to the point and completely satisfying. "We have broadened out," he replied. And it was

exactly the right word. The puritan outlook of the Wahhabi period, which virtually ended on the day when the Americans discovered oil in commercial quantities, barely twenty years ago, has been progressively changed by a latitudinarian attitude towards the problems of the world, and of Arabia.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910/11) defines a Latitudinarian as "one who was prepared to concede much latitude in matters of discipline and faith": adding that the word was used of "those who lay stress on the ethnical teaching of the church, and minimize the value of orthodoxy." The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* describes Latitudinarianism as "freedom from narrowness, liberality of interpretation, tolerated variety of action or opinion (especially in religious matters)." Both definitions apply quite literally to the moral transformation of Saudi Arabia and especially of Riyadh, the metropolis of Wahhabism.

From 1912 onwards for some thirty years, the whole life and activities of the country were strictly regulated by religious sanctions. At the hours prescribed for prayer, all business ceased, the gates of the capital were closed to all exit or entry, and the whole male population proceeded to the mosques: laggards being urged on their way by the officious and sometimes physical encouragement of the "zealots" whose duty it was to see that every man prayed *in the mosques*. *Lā salāta li jār al masjid illā bil masjid* (no prayer for the neighbor of a mosque except in the mosque). And in those days everyone lived in the neighborhood of some mosque! Today all that is changed: the "zealots" still exist, to see to the closing of shops at prayer-time, and there are plenty of mosques for the needs of the greatly swollen population; but there are no gates to shut, and the milling crowds are too big for the shepherds to drive in the right directions. As often as not the people are going home, and the rumble and hooting of the motor traffic is scarcely muted. Apart from that, prayer at *exactly the right times* has ceased to be regarded as obligatory.

In those days it could be assumed that everybody was of the Wahhabi faith, and even the Muslim foreigner had to conform with the code in dress and observance. As for the infidel, even he was expected to wear Arab dress at Riyadh and in the desert (complete suits being generally provided by the king as gifts to visitors of any distinction. The sight of the first Americans to visit the town (on business) in their shorts, open shirts and long-peaked caps (or bare headed) used to create something like a sensation, and even resentment. All that is now changed, and today one sees in the *sūqs* as many, if not more, people in European dress as in Arab garb. It is to the credit of the court and the upper and middle classes of indigenous origin that, apart from footwear (boots or shoes and socks are now worn by practically everyone except the older eccle-

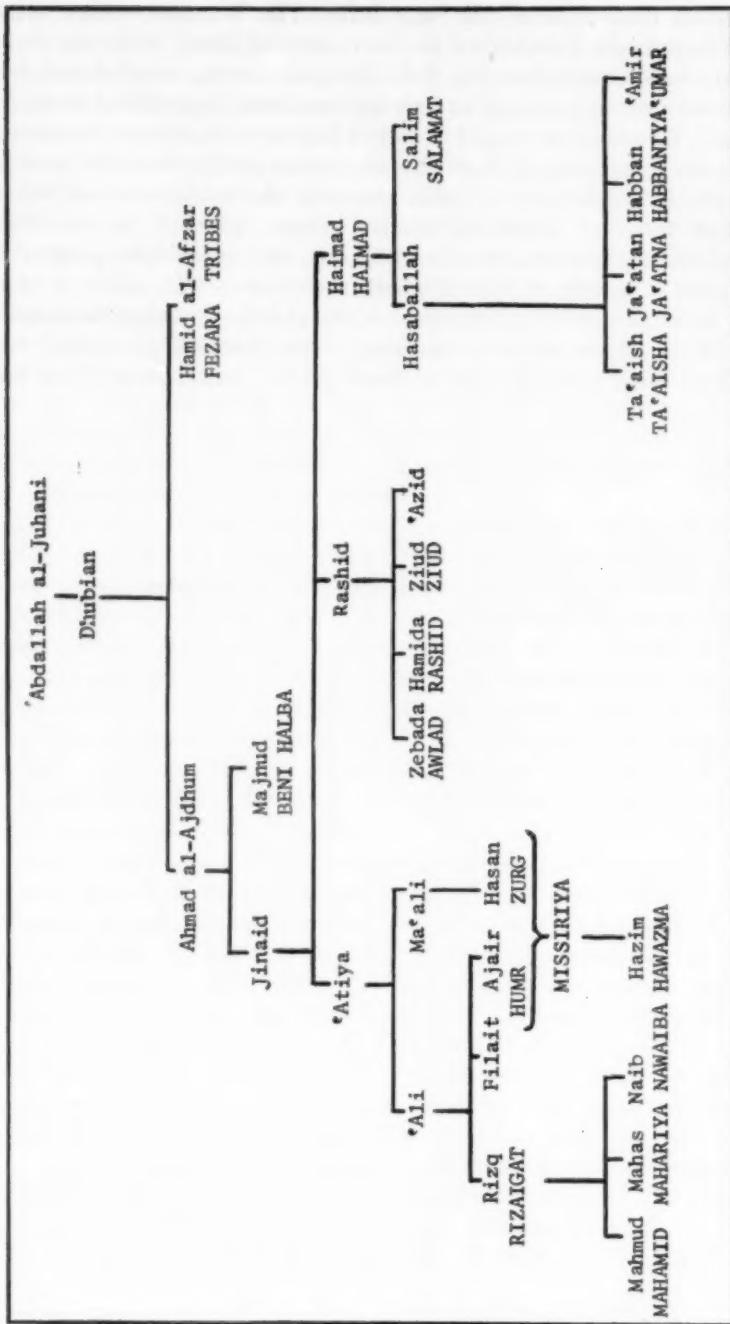
siastics), they have not discarded the graceful garments of Arabia—at any rate, not yet. But the troops and police all wear European uniforms, though they have not yet developed a stable convention in the matter of head-gear. When they first went into uniform the traditional head gear was retained, until it was discovered that the beret had all the good qualities of the '*Aqal*', if properly set on the *Kufiya* (or head-kerchief). But that was the thin end of the wedge, and the *Kufiya* soon followed the '*Aqal*' into oblivion: though the beret is still kept on, even indoors and in the mosques, even indeed in the messes of the American military mission, where the hosts are hatless while the guests remain covered. The only difficulty encountered so far is provided by the gold-braided peak-caps of staff officers at mosque services: some take them off for the duration, while others turn them round with the peak over the neck; but all wear them at the king's dinner table. Visiting officers from the neighboring countries of course discard their headgear indoors, and the Saudi officer is confronted by a ticklish problem, the obvious solution of which can scarcely be in doubt in the long run.

Oil has had a twofold effect on the social economy of Saudi Arabia. In the first place the wealth derived from it has created a desire for comfort and "progress" on Western lines among the princes and well-to-do citizens of the country. They are accustomed to foreign travel, foreign clothes and foreign luxuries of all kinds, which are still taboo at home, though not entirely discarded in the privacy of homes, where the shadow of female emancipation is beginning, however slowly and timidly, to invade the scene. The motor car, with its facilities for picnics, is a powerful agent in the direction of progress; and it would seem but a matter of time, when Westernization will become as general in Saudi Arabia as in its sister borderlands.

In the second place, it is from these neighboring countries that oil has attracted such vast numbers of migrants, that the very character of the town and city populations has been changed out of all recognition. They may be officials and laborers in search of work, or merchants and shopkeepers looking for easy profits, or industrialists interested in constructional opportunities or the development of factories. Above all there are the school teachers and technical experts of all sorts, who exercise a powerful influence on putting Westernization across to the younger generations. With some exceptions, they all wear European clothes and are indeed indistinguishable from Westerners in their manner of life; they frequent cafes and restaurants, both relatively recent innovations in Riyadh where it was not formerly considered decent to feed in public. And their womenfolk wander freely about the *snaqs* on their lawful occasions, shopping or visiting or the like, in veils and garments more

diaphanous than those of the local ladies. The Western women are of course completely uninhibited in the matter of dress, while the nurses from the borderlands dress like their European sisters, unveiled and short skirted with nylon stockings or bare legs and neat, high-heeled shoes.

A volume would be needed to do full justice to the theme; but enough has been said, perhaps, to show how the leaven of the West has wrought to leaven the whole lump of what was once the headquarters of one of the most fanatical creeds of modern times. None of its inhibitions has survived the impact of modern progress; and, as the older generations pass away, it is very doubtful whether anyone is left today to think kindly of those good old days, or to regret the almost complete submergence of what was without question a remarkable dispensation. It is strange to think that, but for it, Saudi Arabia would never have been born!



APPROXIMATE GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE JUHAINA ARABS

THE JUHAINA ARABS OF CHAD

Frederic C. Thomas, Jr.

ALTHOUGH Chad is never thought of as an Arab province, there are some 800,000 Arabs in the Territory, constituting about a third of the total population. Except for the Syrian, Fezzani and other merchant families of the towns, the Arab population has largely preserved its tribal and nomadic way of life. Only the Ziud to the north of the Batha, the Haimad 'Umar in the Mongo hills and sections of the Salamat in southern Waddai, totaling perhaps 30,000, are sedentary. But even with them agriculture is really of secondary interest, and their attachment to the soil is tenuous. The land is poor and deteriorates rapidly; as the soil is exhausted villages are abandoned and moved elsewhere.

Central Chad is a vast and monotonous land of undulating sand hills, broken in places by parched watercourses and clay-soil depressions which fill during the brief rainy season. It is a region eminently suited to pastoralism. The land is covered by coarse grasses, desert shrub and scattered groves of acacia. There is sufficient edible foliage for camels, sheep and goats, and water is obtained from shallow wells dug each year along the river beds. The shifting cultivation of millet, principally the bulrush variety (*dukbn*) which grows on the light sandy soil and matures rapidly during the rains, permits varying degrees of transhumance. Further south one leaves this "sahelian" zone and enters into the savannah, where the grazing is better and surface water more obtainable. This area is ideal for the raising of cattle and the cultivation of coarse-grained millet, besides some cotton, beans and other vegetables.

In general, the pattern of transhumance varies little from year to year. The grain is sown just before or at the time of the first rains in May. Then many of the Arabs move north with their animals in search of new pasturage, returning to their cultivations after the rains to gather in the harvest. This is followed by a certain amount of dry-season migration southward to places where water is more accessible, to the marshes which have not yet dried up or the *fulas* or reservoirs which have been dug to collect the rain.

◆ FREDERIC C. THOMAS, JR. spent ten months during 1954 and 1955 in the western Sudan and the Chad Territory of French Equatorial Africa doing doctoral research under a grant from the Ford Foundation. This article is based largely on material collected during that period. The Ford Foundation is not the author, owner, publisher or proprietor of this work and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or opinions expressed herein.

The Arab Arrival

The forebears of some of the Arab tribes which now reside in this region arrived by way of the Sahara. Carbo groups these tribes under the name of Hasawna, after one Hasan al-Gharbi, said to have been the leader of their original migration.¹ Later arrivals via this route, the Awlad Sliman, crossed the Sahara from Tripolitania in the early 19th century to settle in Kanem to the northeast of Lake Chad. There in 1851 Barth describes them as the most feared of all the predatory tribes of that unsettled region.² Other travelers and scholars have included certain of the Shuwa Arab tribes today found mainly in Dikwa and Bornu Emirates to the immediate south and west of Lake Chad as descendants of Arabs coming from North Africa.

The great majority of the Arab population of Chad, however, belongs to tribes which arrived there by way of the Nile and the Sudan. After the fall of the Christian kingdom of Nubia in the 14th century, they migrated south to Dongola at the great bend of the Nile, thence westward into Kordofan and Darfur. The account of this migration, based largely upon oral tradition and folklore, is told by MacMichael, from whom we learn that the first Arabs to arrive from Egypt in any great numbers were those known as the Juhaina or the descendants of 'Abdallah al-Juhani.³ Some of them took up their abode on the sandy plains of northern Kordofan while others, more numerous, proceeded further south into the savannah where they took to cattle and married Negro women. They became known as the Baggara, which is a term still used to refer to the cattle-owning tribes. Certain sections, for the most part Baggara, did not remain long in Kordofan but chose to drift westward into Darfur and Waddai where they had established themselves by the middle of the 16th century.

The Juhaina were followed into the Sudan by other tribes which are sometimes referred to as the 'Abbasiya from the fact that al-'Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, figures prominently in their genealogies.⁴ These Arabs settled chiefly along the Nile, where they acquired considerable admixture of Nubian and Negro blood and were gradually assimilated into the riverain population. During the 16th and 17th centuries they came under the political dominion of the Funj and the religious influence of Sennar on the Blue Nile, which was the center of Islamic teaching at that time. Living thus in a more-or-less settled condition along the main

1. Carbo, H., *La Region du Tchad et du Ouaddai*, vol. II, Paris, 1912. pp. 34-43.

2. Barth, H., *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, II, N.Y., 1857, p. 273 ff.

3. MacMichael, H. A., *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, I, London, 1922.

4. Descendants of which are the present-day Ja'aliyin, Danagla, Tawama'a, Bedairiya, Shuwaihat, Sha'iqa, and Ghodiat.

lines of communication and under an established authority, the so-called Abbasi tribes were more sophisticated in their outlook than were the nomadic Juhaina. It is not surprising, therefore, that the holy men (*faqibs*) and itinerant merchants (*jallaba*) who went out from Sennar to the west to convert the pagans and trade with them were usually of Abbasi extraction. At least they utilized the noblest of 'Abbasi pedigrees. As MacMichael points out, they married into the indigenous aristocracy and, by virtue of a matrilineal system which ensured the succession of their offspring, became progenitors of new "Arab" aristocracies.⁵ Sulaiman "Solong," the alleged founder of the Sultanate of Darfur at the close of the 16th century, is said to have had a Bedairiya mother, and his contemporary, 'Abd al-Karim al-Jami', the first Sultan of Waddai, is believed to have been an Arab of the Jawama'a tribe.

The pastoral Juhaina, in the meanwhile, comprising to the west of the Nile the vast majority of the Arab population, remained aloof and unassimilated, largely isolated from the religious and dynastic changes which were taking place. They roamed the periphery of territorial authority, participating in the fortunes at the center only when tempted by the prospect of animals, slaves and other spoils. For the most part, they raided among themselves and were occupied with their herds and little else.

The diagram facing page 143 and map (frontispiece) show the approximate genealogical and geographical position today of these Juhaina tribes. Of course, there is always a risk in attempting to plot the relationship between Arab tribes. This becomes evident when one tries to reconcile genealogies reported from different sources. Tribes are not static but changing configurations whose genealogies are amended to meet these changing circumstances. New pedigrees are required to give new combinations the needed kinship support. An ancestor may be merged with a predecessor in order to extend the range of tribal membership; or if certain sections grow too large and move for separation, he may be discarded altogether. Sometimes fictitious names are inserted to establish needed blood connections or attest to noble origins, as others are purged to eliminate all inferior stock.⁶ At best, therefore, we can only extract from the many Juhaina genealogies recorded by travelers and administrators certain points of general agreement from which to construct an oversimplified picture of the probable relationship between the various tribes.

The Period of Waddai Rule

Our historical record of the Juhaina tribes in Chad begins with the es-

5. MacMichael, *op. cit.*, p. 92 note.

6. On Arab propensity to forge descent, see, for example, Smith, R. W., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885, Chapter 1.

talishment of the Sultanate of Waddai around the year 1635. When 'Abd al-Karim al-Jami' defeated the Tunjurs he was aided by the Mahamid, Mahriya and Nawaiba (the three main camel-owning offshoots of the Rizaigat of Darfur), the Araigat and the Beni Halba Baggara, while the Missiriya, Awlad Rashid and Khuzam (this last being outside the Juhaaina group) are reported to have remained faithful to the Tunjur king. As for the Haimad, they were at that time already installed to the west of the Awlad Rashid near Lake Fitri (where, it has been suggested, they may have appeared a century or more earlier to contribute to the stock of the Bulala).

For two and a half centuries thereafter the Arabs were nominally subject to the authority of the Sultans of Waddai. Descriptions of the Sultanate have been passed on to us by Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Tunisi, who visited Wa'ra, the capital, in 1811 during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Karim Sabun, and by the German explorer, Gustav Nachtigal, who, in the course of his journey through the Sahara and central Africa, found his way to Waddai in 1873 when Sultan 'Ali ibn Sharif was in power.⁷ Although these descriptions are mainly of the central authority, the ceremonies and court intrigues, we do learn from them something of relations with the Arab tribes in the outlying districts.

Each tribe was under an official, known as the *aqid*, who was appointed by the Sultan. To ensure loyalty the appointee was usually from one of the indigenous tribes of central Waddai, a eunuch and often slave-born. The *aqid* received no regular payment or land but was entitled to a portion of the tribute which was collected from the tribe. The tribute was paid in camels, cattle and sheep, sometimes in hides, ostrich eggs, clarified butter and salt. Besides, Nachtigal describes how the Baggara, especially the powerful Salamat in the south of Waddai, had to deliver up to their *aqid* a large number of the slaves which they captured and a part of the ivory, rhinocerous horns, crocodile skins, and honey which they collected. The camel-owning Arabs in the north were similarly required to surrender a portion of the camels which they had captured in raids. Also the *aqid*, backed by his private army of slave-troops, could levy fines and demand a tenth of blood-money and inheritance transfers, ostensibly for his part in regulating the transfer.

Under this system the authority of the Arab chief was necessarily curtailed. His tenure depended largely upon the pleasure of the *aqid* and

7. Al-Tunisi, Sh. Muhammad b. Omar, *Voyage au Ouaday*, tr. Perron, Paris, 1851. Nachtigal, G., *Sahara und Sudan*, Berlin, 1879; his account of Waddai translated by J. van Vollenhoven, "Le Voyage de Nachtigal au Ouaddai," *Renseignements Coloniaux*, iii-x (Comite de l'Afrique Francaise), Paris, 1903. By the time of Nachtigal's visit, the capital had been transferred from Wara to Abecher, its present location.

the Sultan and the alacrity with which he supplied the tribute and the extra-ordinary levies which were demanded of his people. When the chief died or was removed from office another would be chosen by the *aqid* and invested with the turban (*kadmul*) of authority. Moreover, the chief was deprived of many of his traditional prerogatives as administrator and guardian of the tribal lands. All land belonged exclusively to the Sultan. Through his officials he distributed rights in use of the soil, for which the recipient, whether tribe or individual, was obliged to pay in tax or military obligation. Of course, the extent to which this principle operated in practice depended upon local conditions at the particular time, the prestige of the chief and the strength of the *aqid*. But in general it militated against the authority traditionally exercised by the chief and tended to limit his powers to the range of his obligation to the Sultan and his officials.

Through a policy of systematic extortion certain of the *aqids*, notably of the Mahamid, Ja'atna and Salamat Arabs, became the most powerful figures in 19th century Waddai, taking a leading part in the court intrigues and the expeditions against the neighboring states of Darfur and Bagirma. For the unfortunate Arabs, who traditionally had found protection in their mobility and separation from any continuous authority, there was little escape from these exactions. The range of their migrations was curtailed by hostile neighbors, the predatory Gur'an (Tibu) and Zaghawa Berbers and the Awlad Sliman, who raided from the north, and the brigands from Dar Runga and Bagirma to the south. A large number of their animals were lost in raids and tribal forays, if not confiscated as one tax or another by the *aqids*. During this period some of the more favorably situated Baggara returned to the Sultan, presumably via the avenue kept open by the Rizaigat of southern Darfur.

The Dispersal of the Arabs

In 1904 a considerable number of Haimad, Awlad Rashid, Ja'atna and Khuzam took refuge under the French, who had by that time secured their position around Lake Chad and advanced their forts as far east as Lake Fitri. These Arabs were followed in 1907 by sections of the Missiriya, which crossed over to the French and installed themselves well to the west of their former home. Two years later a French column occupied Abecher, the capital of Waddai. The Sultan fled, and Asil, a pretender to the throne who had aided the French, was proclaimed Sultan. However, in 1912 he was found guilty of conspiracy and in the following year the Sultanate was abolished.

During the early years the French were largely preoccupied with the maintenance of security and the prohibition of raiding. Their efforts were

directed mainly against the Gur'an and Zaghawa, which had been incited by Sanusi propaganda emanating from Libya to resist the Christians, and against the semi-autonomous sultanates of the Masalat, Sila and Tama along the frontiers of Darfur. In the central Arab districts of Chad a handful of over-worked French officials were exploring their newly-acquired possessions, sorting out the various tribes and estimating their tax potential.

The advent of a measure of peace and security and the relative absence of any tax or other civic obligation were most welcome to the Arabs. Although raiding as a source of animals was officially closed to them, their precious herds were no longer subject to the harsh exactions which had formerly been levied. A gradual extension of the range of their annual migrations resulted. This was also due to the liberation of the slaves, which, under Waddai, had maintained the deep wells which the Arabs had been forced to dig in order to exist in a restricted zone.⁸ When the slaves were freed many of these wells fell into disrepair. The Baggara consequently pushed further south where surface water was sufficient to meet the daily requirements of their cattle, and the Abbala, or camel-owners, began to pasture well to the north of the former limits of their seasonal migration. The quality of the herds improved on the new pastures thus made available to them. Northward extension brought the Arabs into commercial relations with the Gur'an from whom they could purchase the natron which is indispensable to their camels' diet; and the Baggara could barter with cultivators who had hitherto been outside the southerly limits of their winter migration and enter into profitable agreements to obtain grain in exchange for the use of their cattle for transport and other purposes. Under these conditions the Arabs became less dependent upon cultivation. Their wells and fields were abandoned, and a transition from a restricted transhumance to unhampered nomadism was everywhere evident.

A lack of tribal cohesion and loyalty facilitated this dispersal. The advent of security and the prohibition of raiding, together with alternative means of augmenting wealth, dispelled the need for tribal discipline. A seemingly omnipotent government was on hand to defend the interests of the tribesmen, to protect their land from encroachment and their herds from brigandage. Moreover, little loyalty remained towards those chiefly families, which in the past had been closely identified with a hostile and alien authority. Their value to their people undermined by Government, the focus of tribal feeling was lost. Every independently-

8. Some of these *saniyas*, as they are called, are still maintained and are as much as 200 feet deep.

minded shaykh came forth, armed with the necessary genealogical proof (usually fabricated), to assert his claim to leadership.

The Paramount Chiefs

The French could not view with equanimity these developments. Amidst such dislocation and ferment assessment of taxes was most difficult and collection, the responsibility of a multitude of petty shaykhs, a farce. Although raiding on an inter-tribal scale had been suppressed, thefts and other crimes increased alarmingly as the Arabs extended their relations into predominantly non-Arab districts and as new markets for the sale of stolen animals were opened up.

In a belated effort to improve the administration of the restive Arabs the French began in the late 1920's to invest certain chiefs with considerable authority. Although never declared officially as such this was the policy of the *grand kadmul* or the elevation of a chosen few to the turban of paramount chieftaincy. It was in keeping with the theory of indirect rule as expounded by Lyautey in Morocco and Lugard in Nigeria—a policy which respected local traditions, customary institutions and habits. In utilizing the indigenous authorities it had the obvious advantage of relieving the French of many of the less important tasks of administration and reducing expenditures at a time when economies were most needed.

In 1932 the chiefs of the Zebada, Hamida and Khuzam were dismissed on such charges as negligence and incompetence, and the three tribes were united under a cousin of the destituted Zebada chief. It is true that the Zebada and Hamida were related, but there was no historical foundation for the inclusion of the Khuzam in this union. Similarly, a Humr Missairi chief was given paramount command over all the Missiriya, besides the independent Haimad tribe and even the non-Arab populations of three cantons (sedentary tribal areas) to the north of the river Batha. In northern Waddai the Mahriya were attached to the Mahamid under a shaykh of one of the five principal factions of the latter. Elsewhere the same policy was implemented, boldly and with little regard for tribal sensibilities, culminating in 1935 with the restoration of the Sultanate of Waddai.

The effects of this policy were disastrous. The paramount chiefs lacked the necessary title and kinship loyalty to command the tribes under them. They appointed sons and friends as subordinate chiefs over the tribes, and they in turn appointed the shaykhs over the important sections. When there was competition the candidate who offered the highest price, known as *baqq al-kadmul*, in cattle or camels to his immediate superior was awarded the *kadmul*, which entitled him to collect taxes

and certain customary dues and thus make good his investment. Also, the chiefs came to rely increasingly upon paid retainers, known as *gumir*, who were either of slave origin or recruited from among the poorer families of the chief's encampment.⁹ Although charged with supervising the repair of wells, policing markets and other public duties, their principal responsibility was to collect taxes and other revenues from the dispersed encampments and villages, a task which ideally should belong to the tribal authorities.

Under this system of local administration the assessment and collection of taxes were subject to the greatest abuse, with methods reminiscent of those employed by the *aqids*. The two principal Government taxes were (and still are) the poll tax and the animal tax. The paramount chief would commission certain *faqibs*, as the local scribes are known, to list the number of taxable adults and exemptions in the encampments and villages and ascertain, insofar as possible, the size of the herds. These listings, from which the Government assessed the taxes, were makeshift, being often compiled from memory and on the basis of preceding years. For a price the *faqibs* would underlist, or overlook altogether, the animals of wealthy owners. Similarly, in collecting the tax there was little effort to distribute the burden equitably, and strong-arm methods were often used, the more accessible encampments being the hardest hit. The chiefs used the money and animals thus obtained to pay their retainers and meet the sundry expenses of chieftaincy. When brought to account by the Government they claimed that the listings were inaccurate, that their people had lost many animals or that their shaykhs were at fault and should be dismissed. According to Government records, out of every 1000 francs collected as tax, an estimated 350 francs eventually reached the district treasuries.

From the point of view of the tribal authorities' collection of the Government's money was but incidental to the collection of their own revenues. The most important of these was *zakat*, literally "almsgiving," one of the five pillars of Islam. The Quran prescribes that *zakat* should be voluntarily given to provide for the poor, new converts to Islam, debtors and travelers. Under the Sultans of Waddai, as elsewhere, these charitable and religious purposes were largely neglected, and *zakat* evolved from a voluntary offering to a civil tax to be used to defray government expenses. The chiefs collected it in animals and grain along with the tribute and other taxes levied by the Sultan and, as the collectors, were entitled to a part of it. With the coming of the French they continued to receive these revenues. Keeping them for themselves, they disguised them

9. *Gumir*: A corruption of the French *goumier* from the Arabic *qawim*.

all under the name of *zakat* in order to forestall Christian interference. The French, after a series of investigations into the matter, decided that they could not prohibit *zakat* without giving salaries to the chiefs, which they could not at that time afford to do.

The effect of these exactions was to further divorce the people from their chiefs and to accelerate the dispersal of the Arabs; in short, the very opposite of what the French had desired when they instituted the policy of the *grand kadmul*. Tired of having their granaries pillaged each year by the tax gatherers of nomad chiefs, the transhumant Arabs ceased cultivation altogether; and the nomads sought to protect their herds by further separation from all authority. The Missiriya, who had once been confined to a single district, were by 1935 dispersed in the course of their annual peregrinations over ten administrative districts. Besides the obvious problems of administration, this dispersal had exceeded its favorable economic limits. The Baggara started their winter migration before the marshes in the north had dried up, forsaking convenient pasturage to drive their cattle prematurely south. They remained in the south after the first rains, suffering the onslaught of flies and mosquitoes. In their northward trek they had to ford the wadis during flood and many cattle were lost. For the Arab, whose movements are normally determined by the needs of his herd, this was a high price to pay for temporary sanctuary from the rapacity of his chief.

In the face of these developments the paramount chief and his subordinates found the collection of their customary dues increasingly difficult. They received but a portion of the animals they had formerly obtained, and to do so they had to maintain a large number of retainers, who seldom passed up an opportunity to enrich themselves at their employer's expense. Their income further suffered from the loss of the fines and fees which the chiefs had formerly received as tribal judges and regulators of blood-money and inheritance transfers. The exorbitant cost of these services had turned the people to the intercession of the *faqibs* and later to the French magistrate who, they found, did not charge fees for his services.

The Return to Direct Rule

The inevitable change of policy was finally brought about by the pressure of mobilization in the early 1940's. When called upon to furnish recruits for the Territorial Guard and provide horses for the mounted companies and camels for the transport of grain, the paramount chiefs were unable to meet their quotas. Some could only round up a few old men and the poorest specimens of livestock to respond to the call. As a

result the districts were unable to meet their manpower and supply commitments.

The first step in the return to more direct administration was the dismissal of the paramount chiefs, who were placed in forced residence in Fort Lamy and elsewhere. The separate tribes and cantons were reconstituted as independent units with new chiefs appointed over them by the French. Appointments were made only after ascertaining from the leading shaykhs public opinion regarding the candidates, and care was taken to respect local history and traditions.

At this time also, the idea of the "sedentarization" of the nomads had increasing popularity in official French circles. The nomad, especially the Arab nomad, had been discredited. Without attachment to the soil, he was considered difficult to administer, apathetic if not hostile to any authority higher than that of his immediate shaykh, and incapable of economic and "cultural" advance. It was felt, therefore, that Government must support the cultivators upon whom alone a stable and competent local administration could be established. Accordingly, proposals were made for lowering the tax on anyone owning a straw hut and raising it on the animals of nomads, and elaborate schemes were suggested to limit the range of nomadism by special passes and inter-district visas. In one district the cantonal chiefs of the more sedentary, non-Arab groups (Bulala, Kanuri, Tunjur, etc.) were given authority over all the residents of their canton, including the Arab nomads temporarily installed there. Some of them thereupon deprived the Missiriya of the use of pastures and wells which the Arabs had habitually used and levied heavy charges as rents, pasture fees (*baqq al-gash*) and other "customary dues." In 1947 their vindictiveness provoked a tribal war between the Missiriya Humr and the Ratanin in which at least 150 persons are known to have been killed.¹⁰

Convinced that the chiefs, when given authority, would only abuse it, the French after 1947 took into their own hands many of the responsibilities which might, ordinarily, have been left to the tribal authorities. Reaffirming its title to all land, the Government forbade the collection of *zakat* unless voluntarily paid and on a number of occasions ordered the return of animals to their rightful owners. Once the Arabs realized the Government was on their side many of them stopped paying *zakat* altogether. Also, the magisterial competence of the French district officials was raised to give them full "civil and commercial powers" besides the authority to try criminal cases of assault and theft. But probably more important was the fact that no lower limits were placed on their competence. On tour

10. The Ratanin are people of largely Zaghawa origin so called because they speak a *ritana* and not Arabic.

they hear innumerable petty cases and settle controversies over small debts, dower and other matters which have not been satisfactorily handled locally.

The assessment of taxes also has been taken over by the French who periodically visit each village and encampment in the districts to list the human and animal population.¹¹ The tax is calculated on the basis of this *recensement*. Collection, however, is still left to the shaykhs since they are the only ones who know the whereabouts of the taxpayer. They pay their quota directly into the district treasury, and failure to pay the full amount within the set period has been grounds for dismissal—by the Government, not by the chief.

The net effect of this policy has been to complete the undermining of the already precarious position of the tribal chief. He complains today that his people no longer come to him with their complaints and controversies nor honor him with the presents and dues upon which the maintenance of his prestige depends. He can no longer afford the adornments of chieftaincy, provide a good table and employ retainers and servants. His administrative authority has been restricted to certain liaison functions, such as notifying the shaykhs when the cattle must be rounded up for inoculation or labor supplied for roadwork, the clearing of market areas, or the rethatching of the resthouse or dispensary.

The Remnants of Tribalism

In the absence of tribal feeling the section, known as the *khashm al-bayt*, has increased importance. Sections vary considerably in size, the average being, for example, some 200 members in the case of the Missiriya and over 300 in the Zebada and Hamida. It has a moral personality which is derived from common origin and the closeness of kinship ties. Its members are collectively responsible for the payment of blood-money (*diya*) and are entitled to compensation when injury is done to one of them. Although it is still customary among certain sections which recognize kinship ties to refund a portion of blood-money which is transferred between them, the section alone is the *diya*-unit in Chad at the present time. Also, all the camels and cattle owned by its members are branded with the same *wasm*, and, in the final analysis, the section as a whole is responsible for recovering animals which have strayed or been stolen. In short, it is the largest unit of collective rights and obligations, "of tribal value" to the Arabs of this region.

The section rarely, if ever, manifests any territorial cohesion. Its mem-

11. This is as of 1955 and does not take into account any changes on the local level which may have occurred since the implementation of the *Loi Cadre* of June 23, 1956. Among other things, this law increased the fiscal powers of the elected territorial assemblies in French Equatorial Africa.

bers are dispersed in encampments throughout the year. Some may be cultivators whereas others are fully nomadic. It is not surprising, however, that a certain amount of segmentation in the past has been along subsistence lines, and there are sections today which are dependent entirely on camel-raising, cattle or agriculture. Moreover, the migratory route (*murbal*) followed by a section is the same from year to year, and their cultivations neighbor one another at some point along the route. Arising from this is a common interest in a particular tract of territory, and the Arabs will speak, for example, of a certain cluster of wells belonging to a particular section.

The shaykh of the small section is the only tribal authority who has managed to retain popular confidence in spite of dispersal and the corruption of authority. He is chosen from the paramount lineage by the elders of the section; and their choice will be eventually accepted by all or else the section will divide. If the chief does not approve of the selection he may obtain the shaykh's dismissal on such grounds as embezzlement of tax or harbouring of strays, and it is perhaps for this reason that the custom of giving a gift to the chief on accession to title continues. If the nominee has strong popular support, the gift is usually a cow or a young camel, but if there is competition, the successful candidate may be obliged to offer more, perhaps as many as six cows. Also the Government has a limited influence on the succession. Although it has since 1946 reserved the ultimate right to appoint and remove shaykhs, since they are the tax-collectors, in fact the French *chef de district* is seldom informed of an election of a new shaykh until after he has been approved by the chief. However, he will dismiss a shaykh who does not collect the tax required from his section.

Any ill-feeling within the section or the pettiest grievance against the shaykh is sufficient pretext for further segmentation, in spite of French efforts to give the *khashm al-bayt* administrative permanence. The size of the districts, the dispersal of the people and the complete breakdown of communications during the rainy season make it impossible for the French to intervene before the damage is done. Moreover, from the Government point of view the section is primarily a fiscal unit. If smaller and more cohesive units will better respond to their tax obligations, the appointment of additional shaykhs is recommended.

The members of a section live in encampments, which may number from five to fifty huts. Though sometimes composed of relatives, the encampments (*feriq*) is essentially a formation of chance, a collection of individuals rather than of families, who pasture their animals in common, water from the same wells, or cultivate in the same locale.

Being mainly an occupational gathering, it is often made up of the age-group most suited to the particular task. The young men and the adolescent boys and girls will be found with the camels near the dry-season wells, while others remain with the cattle in the south and the oldest members stay at the cultivations. An individual owning both camels and sheep will probably entrust one or the other to relatives in another encampment.

Besides providing a congenial environment in which the Arab nomad tends his animals, the encampment also offers, it seems, freedom from kinship obligation. It is not uncommon to find relatives, all owning camels and pasturing in the same neighborhood, split up into encampments which cross kinship lines. Similarly, when a son reaches maturity he may travel in another encampment or, on marriage, join that of his in-laws. When approached by the French for the *recensement*, he usually requests that his animals be listed separately from those of his kinsmen, and he prizes the tax card he receives. This card, on which his animals are listed, protects him against any supplementary tax or arbitrary exaction. He is obliged to pay only on the number he has declared; his shaykh or closest kin cannot make him pay more. He pays his tax, and in return the Government will protect his interests and obtain redress for any injury which is done to him.

In a sense, then, a consciousness of individual rights and obligations is emerging out of the wreckage of tribalism. This individualism may be viewed as a healthy development, in contrast to the tribalism which persists elsewhere and acts as a restraint on political evolution.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN LABOR RELATIONS IN BAHRAYN

Willard A. Beling

ALTHOUGH attention has been focused primarily in recent years on political events in Bahrain, there have been concomitant economic and sociological developments of fundamental importance. In this regard, Bahrain furnishes an interesting and provocative case study of the development of labor relations in a so-called "backward" or underdeveloped area. The purpose of this article is to trace events in Bahrain which generated and shaped the development of its recent labor legislation.¹

Agitation for Reform

Latent tensions exploded in protests, violence and riots in 1953 and 1954. These were provoked initially by Sunni-Shi'i differences which the Government sought to ease by appointing a committee composed of two leading members from each sect. Further violence occurred between the two groups, however, followed by a general island-wide protest strike of Shi'i workers. At this propitious moment, a movement emerged, led by an advisory group allegedly composed of a secret membership of one hundred, and a small central steering group which called itself the Higher Executive Committee, who were publicly known. The Committee (henceforth referred to as the HEC) was composed of four Sunnis and four Shi'as.

This movement initially appeared to be neither ultra-nationalistic nor anti-British. It was a reform movement. But when the HEC sought to present the Ruler with a petition demanding an elected representative legislative body, a code of civil and criminal, judicial reforms and freedom of association for labor, he refused to accept them as representatives of the people. Therefore, in December 1954 the HEC called a general strike which lasted about a week and practically paralyzed

1. *The Bahrain Employed Persons Compensation Ordinance, 1957*, issued by the Government of Bahrain, November 1957, Bahrain, 23 pp., and *The Bahrain Labour Ordinance, 1957*, issued by the Government of Bahrain, November 1957, Bahrain, 52 pp. The Arabic text is the official text.

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business. For the next two years the battle was joined. But during this period the movement, with outside encouragement, became more and more nationalistic until the idea of reform gave way to plans for revolt. The Government's spokesman, Sir Charles Belgrave, then found himself the target of excessive public criticism and abuse. And finally he was forced to retire from his position as Adviser to the Government (a position he had held since 1926), but only after he saw the leaders of the HEC sentenced to long prison terms and banned to St. Helena.

The Government was so disconcerted initially that it either took no action or took it too belatedly. The general strike in December 1954 demonstrated that the movement was more than the usual strife between Sunnis and Shi'as. They were united this time. Nevertheless, the strike was rationalized at first as the work of a few agitators and malcontents.² But as the movement gained momentum the Government began to take a more realistic approach. One of its first steps was to establish a Public Relations Department to combat HEC's propaganda. It also strengthened public security, exercised stricter control over the press and made efforts to break the united popular front represented in the HEC.

To break HEC's monopoly position, the Government issued an announcement encouraging the public to form committees to represent their interests to the Government. In response, a Committee of National Unity (CNU) was immediately formed and recognized by the Government.³ But it turned out that this was merely a new name for the HEC. Bahrain then became the unique possessor in the Persian Gulf area of a modern, legally recognized political party. Its membership was drawn from the educated and semi-educated groups, but it also attracted unruly elements. Of these, the Shi'as tended in general to be more extreme than the Sunnis for they had less to lose and more to gain. The CNU was closely tied to Egypt from which source it received active support and encouragement.⁴ Nevertheless, the Government's strategy was not in vain; other committees were also formed, thus breaking the CNU's united popular front.

But the Government also took constructive steps relative to the demands found in the HEC's petition. While it rejected the demand for an elected representative legislative body, the Government did announce that several major reforms would be carried out. Among these was the establishing of a Labor Exchange in July 1956, which would eventually grow into a Labor Department, and the drafting of a labor code.

2. Cf. Government of Bahrain, *Annual Report for Year 1956*, Bahrain, 1957, pp. 3-8.

3. Cf. Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, No. 146, 22 March 1956, pp. 5f. (In Arabic.)

4. Cf. Hazard, H. W., *Subcontractor's Monograph on Eastern Arabia* (unpublished), Human Relations Area Files, Inc., New Haven, 1956, pp. 267f.

Nature of Business Enterprises

Bahrain's economic enterprises were categorized as follows in the employment census of 1956:

Table I. Industrial Distribution of Labor Force in Bahrain.⁵

Industry	No. of Establishments	No. of People Employed		Total
		Bahrainis	Foreigners	
Manufacturing	687	716	996	1712
Construction	103	2492	1472	3964
Oil Industry	1	5826	2959	8785
Mining and Quarrying	3	49	17	66
Trade and Banking	2507	3368	2449	5817
Transport and Communications	57	887	864	1751
Services	443	4055	3446	7501
Total	3,801	17,393	12,203	29,596
Estimated:				
Taxi and bus drivers				750
Maritime industry				4000
Agriculture, domestic services, fishing				8000
Total Labor Force				42,346

Several of these areas of employment have relatively few problems of labor relations. This is due, either to the peculiar local circumstances involved, or to the small scale of the establishments. For example, the maritime workers, pearlers and fishers work on a share basis. By the very nature of their relationships these, with the small subsistence farmers, do not represent areas of conflict in labor relations. They comprise almost a third of the total labor force.

It will be noted in Table II below that 91 per cent of all establishments (excluding the oil industry) employed fewer than five persons, and 98 per cent employed fewer than twenty-five. For example, the number of establishments engaged in trade and banking was by far the largest single category of the census, comprising a large segment of the labor force. But they averaged only 2.3 persons per establishment. A similar situation prevailed in establishments engaged in manufacturing, a very broad term which as used here really means small-scale handicrafts. Their average employment was only 2.5 persons, of whom more than half were self-employed. In general, therefore, employer-employee relationships as we know them in the West do not exist in this group, nor does it appear to lend itself to labor organization.

⁵. Porter, R. S., *Report on the Census of Employment in Bahrain 1956*, Beirut, 1957, p. 5. The total labor force as estimated in the census was probably on the low side. Much of the following is based on data found in this report.

Table II. Size of All Establishments, Excluding Oil Industry⁶

<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Number of Establishments</i>		<i>Number Employed</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Less than 5 persons	3400	90.6	5405	26.0
5 - 9 persons	229	6.0	1445	6.9
10 - 24 persons	61	1.6	792	3.8
25 - 49 persons	25	0.6	873	4.2
50 - 99 persons	10	0.3	745	3.6
100 - 199 persons	14	0.4	1797	8.6
200 - 499 persons	10	0.3	3574	17.1
More than 500 persons	6	0.2	6180	29.8
Total	3800	100.0	20,811	100.0

One of the striking features in Bahrayn's employment is the high proportion of foreigners in the labor force, roughly 41 per cent of those registered in the census.⁷ Over the past years many foreigners have become sufficiently established to set up their own businesses. And in fact, foreigners exceed Bahraynis in the manufacturing category. Among these, the Persians, Indians and Pakistanis have come to play a very important role in Bahrayn's economic and social structure.

With the new economy based on oil came the demand for skills which were unavailable in the local labor market, and therefore the employment of foreigners became mandatory. Bahrayn's former ties to British India led the British to draw upon the Indian labor market to fill the technical and clerical positions. Labor then became stratified in the larger establishments as follows: Westerners in management positions, Indians and Pakistanis in intermediate positions and Bahraynis at the bottom in lower clerical and labor jobs. But it is the intermediate group which the Bahraynis resent in particular, for they feel these stand in the way of their own immediate promotion and job progress, which is often true. Moreover, the intermediate group stands aloof from the local inhabitants, trying (unsuccessfully) to be identified socially with the Westerners. This foreign element was one of the serious divisive elements in Bahrayn's popular front and is a deterrent to any attempt at labor organization.

In this unlikely milieu it is difficult to imagine that within the space of two years a full-blown labor movement could mushroom into existence where no trade unions had previously existed, led by men without any previous trade union experience. The fact that it did occur, however,

6. *Idem.*, p. 26.

7. See Table I. For the purpose of the census, a Bahrayni subject was defined as a person born in Bahrayn or holding a Bahrayn passport.

was due to two basic factors: resurgent Arab nationalism and an economy dominated by a foreign (albeit good) company.

In this connection, it should be noted that almost half of the total employment covered by the census was found in only seven establishments; viz., several large firms (principally construction) and Bahrain Petroleum Company (Bapco), the latter being the largest private employer in Bahrayn. A number of construction firms, however, were working either wholly or partly for Bapco, so that at the time of the census Bapco itself directly or indirectly employed probably forty per cent of those surveyed. Because of this it can safely be said that labor relations in Bahrayn's construction industry, while not so difficult as Bapco's, are thorny largely because of the close relationship between the industry and Bapco. The oil industry itself, however, by its very nature, being foreign, rich and an obvious political target, enjoys the unenviable position of having Bahrayn's most difficult labor relations.⁸

The Labor Movement

The restive labor situation in the Persian Gulf was not unique to Bahrayn at this time. Just a few miles away in Saudi Arabia, for example, the Arabian American Oil Company was having serious labor problems. A group of Saudi employees had set themselves up as the "Committee Representing Saudi Workmen." A major strike took place in October 1953, resulting in substantial benefits for the Saudi employees. But serious labor trouble continued in Arabia until the Royal Anti-Strike Decree was issued in 1956⁹. *The Economist* pointed out that the strikes in Bahrayn and Saudi Arabia "were directed more at the reactionary ways of the ruling family than at the [oil] companies."¹⁰ In fact, the labor movement itself on Bahrayn became a part of the HEC's total strategy to be used to force concessions from the Government. The HEC had captured, therefore, at the very beginning the nascent labor movement in Bahrayn.

Following its initial announcement that it intended to establish a Labor Law Advisory Committee to draft labor legislation,¹¹ the Government then announced in April 1955 that elections would be held to select three labor representatives to sit on the tripartite committee. The HEC immediately began maneuvering, therefore, not only to capture the election but also to establish a general union as a *fait accompli* before a re-

8. Partly because of this, but also because of its enlightened industrial relations, Bapco sets the pace on wages and working conditions in Bahrayn. This has, of course, an ameliorating effect upon general wage patterns and working conditions in Bahrayn. In fact, Bapco's influence is so great that it clears general wage increases with the Government before granting them, lest it upset the state's entire economy.

9. Royal Decree No. 17/2/23/2639, dated 11 June 1956, published in the official gazette, *Umm al-Qura*, No. 1621, 22 June 1956, and broadcast by Radio Mecca on the same day.

10. "Oil and Social Change in the Middle East," (London), Air Edition, 2 July 1955, p. 14.

11. *Official Gazette*, No. 96, 24 February 1955, p. 4.

strictive labor law could be promulgated and before Bapco could set up its proposed counter organizations, the Joint Consultative Committees. Trade unionism, therefore, became the paramount issue during the following year. In October 1955, a general trade union was tentatively founded. It concentrated its initial efforts on recruiting members, and within a very short time it claimed a membership of about six thousand workers. Most of these were from the labor forces of Bapco and the Government. Initiation fees were five rupees and annual dues were set at twelve rupees, payable in advance. Significantly, only Bahrain subjects were eligible.

In February 1956 the Constituent Committee of the Bahrain Labor Federation met to establish the Federation formally and to arrange for elections. Several resolutions came out of this meeting and were submitted to the Government and the Labor Law Advisory Committee.¹² These demanded the right to establish only one labor organization as a statewide federation, recognition of the Federation by the Government, prompt completion of the labor law, incorporation in the law of a cost of living escalator clause for general wage adjustments and the appointment of worker representatives on any Joint Consultative Committees to be a function of the Federation. The first demand was a highly controversial issue in the Labor Law Advisory Committee, for both the Government and the large employers were opposed to this form of labor organization. The labor leaders argued, however, that the small size of most of the establishments plus the limited potentialities and weak finances of the workers did not permit them to form numerous unions. And without waiting for the Government's approval, they had already begun to establish an island-wide labor federation. In March 1956 the Federation announced the procedure to be followed in electing members to its Administrative Council,¹³ and in July it announced that nominations would be open for membership in the Administrative Council and the General Assembly, to be composed according to Table III.

At this juncture, however, the Middle East generally became emotionally involved in the Suez Canal crisis. And in Bahrain, political and nationalistic agitation replaced all interest in labor organization. In fact, the labor movement *per se* ceased to exist in December of that year, when the HEC's leaders were arrested and sentenced to exile.

12. "Resolutions of the Constituent Committee of the Bahrain Labor Federation at its Meeting Held on 22 February 1956," a circular put out (in Arabic) by the leaders of the movement.

13. This announcement was made on the day following the Government's announcement of the appointment of members to its newly established Administrative Council. The timing of the Federation's announcement may have been deliberate, in order to contrast the Government's autocratic appointments with the Federation's democratic elections.

Table III. Organization of the Bahrain Labor Federation¹⁴

<u>Employee Groups</u>	<u>Membership in Administrative Council</u>	<u>Membership in General Assembly</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bapco	5	43	48
Other Companies	3	23	26
Government Employees	4	18	22
"Capable Persons"	4	—	4
Total	16	84	100

The Government's Response

Shortly after the general strike in December 1954, a British labor expert was brought in to advise the Bahrain Government. Among other things, he recommended that the Government establish the tripartite Labor Law Advisory Committee.¹⁵ The Government was represented on the nine-man Committee by two members of the ruling family and a British employee of the Bahrain Government; the employers by a member of Bapco's management, an important merchant and a contractor; the workers by three elected representatives from the labor forces of the Government, Bapco and an independent commercial establishment.¹⁶ All three of the labor representatives had been endorsed by the HEC, but the independent became its chief spokesman. In addition, the Committee enjoyed the able assistance of a labor expert lent by the British Ministry of Labor.

After some time, Bapco's management representative and the independent labor representative emerged as primary spokesmen for the employers and labor, respectively. Bapco recognized the importance of the issues at stake during this critical period and strengthened its own public, employee and labor relations organizations. In the meantime, the HEC apparently also recognized its need for outside aid, for its chief spokesman in the Committee went on a trip to Cairo and Dhahran, and upon his return insisted on reopening several points already agreed upon in the Committee.¹⁷

The Committee held fifty-eight meetings and remained in session until October 1956. Upon completing its work on the draft labor law, the Committee was asked to frame an industrial compensation law. It then submitted its proposed drafts to the Ruler for approval.

14. "Nomination Notice," 23 July 1956, issued by the Electoral Board of the Bahrain Labor Federation.

15. Cf. *Official Gazette*, No. 96, 24 February 1955, p. 4.

16. *Idem.*, No. 105, 27 April 1955, gives the results of the elections for the labor representatives.

17. Cf. *Annual Report for Year 1956*, *op. cit.*, p. 5, and Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Labor Legislation

Despite the fact that the Bahrain Labor Federation had been dissolved toward the end of 1956, the political pressures largely removed, and the leaders of the HEC exiled, the Government still honored its commitment to provide labor legislation. On 10 October 1957, therefore, the Ruler approved the industrial compensation law and, after making several major changes in the draft labor law, he approved it on November 12, the effective date for both being the first of the new year following.¹⁸

The Compensation Ordinance covers industrial injuries and diseases, and specifies in detail compensation payments for death, temporary or permanent total and partial disability or disfigurement, due to industrial causes. Industrial compensation claims arising between employees and employers had been dealt with previously on the basis of the Indian compensation legislation, although this had not been officially enforced.¹⁹ The new labor legislation, however, while patterned in general after other Middle Eastern labor laws, follows particularly the Egyptian and Sudanese legislation.

The compensation payments are related to earnings, broken down into four classes:

Table IV. Compensation for Death and Permanent Disability²⁰

Monthly Earnings Rupees	Compensation Rupees
Class 1 up to 300	12,000
Class 2 301 - 600	15,000
Class 3 601 - 1000	18,000
Class 4 1001 or more	27,000

The Bahrain Labour Ordinance is divided into five major parts and an appendix. It specifically designates three activities which it is intended to regulate: (1) Relations between employees and employers; (2) Trade Unions; and (3) Trade Disputes. The labor code applies to most of Bahrain's labor force. It provides as minima an eight-hour day and a forty-eight hour week (during Ramadhan, six hours and thirty-six hours, respectively). Overtime is set at time-and-a-quarter. Nine public holidays with pay are allowed, and fourteen days paid annual vacation (including cost-of-living allowance, if any) are increased to twenty-eight days after five years of continuous service.²¹ Sick leave is accruable at the rate of

18. *The Bahrain Employed Persons Compensation Ordinance, 1957*, and *The Bahrain Labour Ordinance, 1957*.

19. Cf. *Annual Report for Year 1956*, p. 79.

20. *Compensation Ordinance*, Schedule I, p. 22. There is a very close parallel between this and the Saudi Arabian schedule which, however, lists only three classes.

21. A similar generous annual vacation is granted in Saudi Arabia, but only to the petroleum workers.

two weeks per year up to a maximum of twenty-six weeks, and paid maternity leave of six weeks is provided. After one year of continuous service, leaving indemnities become vested rights payable on termination of employment, except in cases of discharge for cause or resignation prior to completion of five years of service. These indemnities are accrued at the rate of fourteen days' basic pay (plus cost-of-living allowance, if any) for each year of service, and increased to twenty-eight days' pay after five years of continuous service. Leaving indemnities are granted to the heirs on the death of an employee from non-industrial causes.

Terminations

The employer's right to discharge for cause is unequivocably stated (Sec. 13). But when a dismissal is found to be unjustified, the discharged employee has the right to be reinstated to his employment—but only if this is satisfactory to both parties. If not, he is entitled to leaving indemnities under the Ordinance.²² And in both cases, he is entitled to what in effect amounts to back pay, from the day of his discharge to the date of the Board's decision.

The Ordinance follows a growing trend in the Middle East to vest employees with their accrued severance indemnities, after a reasonable period of continuous service. But in this respect, Bahrain's legislation is more generous than most, for under it an employee with five years' continuous service is vested with *full* leaving indemnities, unless he is discharged for cause.²³ This element of discipline is the only really serious disadvantage to this form of social security. For by one negligent act if serious enough, an employee can deprive himself not only of his job but also of his social security. Nevertheless, employees generally react favorably to this sort of "retirement plan." They can understand it. It is non-contributory; it is granted as a lump sum on termination. In addition, since the severance indemnities are based on the last salary instead of the average of his life-time earnings, they are unaffected by inflation.

"Management Rights"

Section 38 of the labor code carried the above title as a marginal heading. The mere fact that this section is found in the code at all is remarkable, and perhaps unique. It deserves to be quoted in full:

"Nothing in this Ordinance shall be construed to restrict an employer in the exercise of the right to hire persons of his own choosing, to discharge, discipline,

22. This is a thorny issue in many areas, particularly when it involves a foreign concessionaire. For frequently he is denied not only the right to discharge for cause, but also the right to lay off superfluous or undesirable employees—despite his willingness to pay leaving indemnities.

23. In Egypt, for example, the worker who resigns after five years' continuous service is entitled to only half of his accrued severance benefits. Cf. *Legislative Decree No. 317 of 1952, Respecting Individual Contracts of Employment*, dated 8 Dec. 1952, ILO Legislative Series, 1952—Eg. 1, May-June, 1954, sec. 44.

promote, demote or suspend employed persons, to establish or revise schedules, methods and procedures, to install, remove or change equipment, and to direct completely the operations of his establishments, and the enumeration of the rights above shall not limit such further management rights as are not specifically enumerated, provided however that in the exercise of such rights the employer shall not violate the provisions of this or any other Ordinance, and provided further that an employed person who, because of the exercise by an employer of the rights referred to in this Section, has suffered demotion or suspension or any reduction in his rights or benefits, shall have the right to submit a grievance, either personally or through a representative of his own choosing, to arbitration in the manner provided for in Part IV of this Ordinance."

This is then followed by a right-to-work clause (Sec. 39.a) which is balanced, however, by a clause forbidding employers to discriminate against union employees. The employers were also able to get a provision in the ordinance (Sec. 40.a) allowing individual grievances to be handled internally, instead of only through union channels.

Joint Consultative Committees

The labor expert brought in initially to advise the Government recommended that the bigger establishments like Bapco set up Joint Consultative Committees. These are like the early employee representation plans in the U.S., and the shop committees or works councils found in Great Britain and Europe today. The Bahrain Government endorsed the idea and took steps to legalize and regulate the committees.²⁴ They were to confine their attention, for example, to matters affecting employee relations, such as recreation, transportation, living accommodations, work rules and safety, but were not to discuss wages, money emoluments, vacations, benefits or terms of employment.

Bapco promptly made serious efforts to establish a system of committees in its operations and, in fact, activated a number of them. In the meantime, Aramco in nearby Saudi Arabia had instituted a similar program of what they called 'Communications Committees,' which enjoyed a modicum of success. Very shortly, however, these conditions became big issues in both Arabia and Bahrain. The Constituent Committee of the Bahrain Federation of Labor issued a resolution in February 1956 to the effect that the probationary period was over: The Joint Consultative Committees had proved to be worthless. They therefore demanded that the present incumbents withdraw (which they promptly did) and that the worker representatives be henceforth appointed by the Federa-

24. Cf. *The Ordinance of Bahrain's Joint Consultative Committees, 1955*, Government of Bahrain Notice, No. 1374/58, issued 29 June 1955, and also carried in the *Official Gazette*, No. 114, 7 July 1955, pp. 8-12.

tion. In the meantime, similar attacks were being made in Arabia against Aramco's committees, and they too collapsed for lack of worker participation.²⁵

Despite an unresolved impasse on this issue in the Labor Law Advisory Committee, and the fact that the committees in Bapco had collapsed, the Ordinance includes a section (Sec. 41) permitting the establishment of Joint Consultative Committees.

Labor Organization

As pointed out earlier, the labor leaders had insisted from the beginning on the right to form one union embracing all of Bahrayn. The employers found this objectionable, however, because they wanted to control their own labor relations and to avoid becoming involved in disputes of other employers. In spite of their opposition and the Government's disapproval, however, labor organized itself in one all-inclusive union. With this in the background, the Labor Law Advisory Committee drafted the regulations covering trade unions. And while the draft law allowed an over-all confederation, it also allowed occupational and craft unions, industrial unions, house unions and federations.

This section of the final draft, however, underwent considerable revision before the Government finally approved it. As for federations and a confederation, the entire portion dealing with these phases was deleted. Section 43, however, which allows house unions apparently also permits craft and occupational unions to cross company lines. Some feel, in fact, that federations, while not specifically mentioned, are by the same token not specifically ruled out. As for affiliations with international labor organizations, they are at present tacitly frowned upon.

Trade Union Responsibility

Although the labor ordinance gives labor the right to organize, it also demands in return accountability for labor's actions. Section 51, which deals with this aspect, provides in its evolution an interesting picture of the conflicting English, American and Arab philosophies which were melded in the code. The final draft of this section as submitted to the Government for approval was titled "Immunity of Trade Unions from Actions of Tort." It specifically exempted union leaders and unions from court action for tortious acts committed by or on behalf of a trade union in contemplation or furtherance of a trade union dispute. It was patterned after English law to which, in fact, the labor representatives

25. *Al-Yamamah*, No. 29, 4 April 1956, a Saudi Arabian weekly, carried an article which was highly critical of Aramco's Communications Committees. It was written by a Saudi Arab graduate of the University of California, with a major in Industrial Relations. It demonstrated the stature of the opposition facing the big employers.

on the Labor Law Advisory Committee had appealed when challenged on this point by Bapco's American management representative.

When the published ordinance appeared, however, Section 51 had been retitled "Liability of Trade Unions," and had reversed itself. It now stated essentially that a union is liable for tortious acts, unless it is proved that the wrongful or illegal act was committed without its knowledge, participation or approval. The destructive riots and strikes of November 1956 were important factors influencing the Ruler's revision. The text of Section 51 was recently made even stronger, and this time leaves no shadow of doubt concerning a union's accountability.²⁶

Trade Disputes

Conciliation and arbitration provisions are written into the law (Secs. 68 ff.). Either party to a dispute may report it to the Commissioner of Labor, who then is required to attempt within fourteen days to arrange mediation of the dispute. When conciliation attempts fail, certain specific types of cases (listed in the Third Schedule of the Appendix) involve compulsory arbitration. For the others, arbitration is contingent upon the consent of both parties. Each party then chooses two members of an arbitration board and agrees with the other party upon a fifth independent member, who functions as chairman of the board. Failure to agree upon this member automatically brings in either a court judge or a person selected by the Commissioner and the British Political Agent, depending on the nationality of the disputants. The arbitration board's award should be made within twenty-one days from the date of the dispute being reported to the Commissioner. Its award is binding if the two parties have agreed to this beforehand in writing. Otherwise it shall be regarded only as a recommendation. When an employee's termination is challenged it is referred to an arbitration board, whose award is binding unless appealed within seven days. In this event, the case is referred to the appropriate court.

On the issue of strikes and lockouts the ordinance resorts to what looks like superstitious hocus-pocus. Although the final draft used the words "strike" and "lockout," they do not occur in the published labor ordinance. Instead, unwieldly circumlocutions were substituted for these 'nasty' words after the final draft was submitted to the Ruler for approval. While granting workers the right to strike, the Government, in view of the spate of strikes that plagued Bahrain for two years, may have wished to soft-pedal and camouflage that right, lest it be abused. The granting of the right to strike, it should be remembered, is in strong con-

26. *The Bahrain Labour (Amendment) Ordinance, 1958*, effective 18 March 1958, found in the *Official Gazette*, No. 250, 3 April 1958, pp. 3-5.

trast to the prevailing attitude in the Persian Gulf toward strikes. Saudi Arabia's anti-strike decree issued in 1956 is a case in point.

Nevertheless, the right to strike is not without adequate controls. For example, notice must be given the employer twenty-one days in advance (Sec. 78). If a dispute has been referred to an arbitration board for a final decision, a strike is then illegal (Sec. 79). Because of the nature of their work, persons employed in public utilities and public health or fire services are not allowed to go out on strike. Picketing is lawful, but must be conducted peacefully and without intimidation (Sec. 84).

Role of the Labor Department

The precocious development of labor relations caught Bahrain without either adequate legislation or machinery to cope with the problems. As a first step to stem the unfavorable tide of public and labor opinion, the Government established early in 1955 a Public Relations Department. But it was also given functions normally assigned to a Department of Social Affairs and Labor. In this latter capacity, it functioned as an employment office, mediation and arbitration board for labor disputes, and a welfare agency. For a number of years an informal arrangement had existed whereby one of the Shaykhs of the ruling family had held weekly meetings to settle labor disputes between Bapco and its employees. When he was made a member of the Labor Law Advisory Committee, the head of the new Public Relations Department took over this function.

In July 1955, a "Department of Labor" was established which, however, consisted of nothing more than an employment bureau.²⁷ Initially this service was offered only to Bahrainis, but in 1957 it was extended as well to foreigners. In 1956 the Department carried out an employment census which was designed to gather information to assist the Government in applying the forthcoming labor law and in formulating an employment policy regarding foreigners.²⁸ In early 1957, the labor functions handled by the Public Relations Department were handed over to the Director of the Department of Labor.²⁹ Later in the year a Commissioner of Labor was appointed to whom the Department of Labor was made directly responsible.³⁰ His duties are carefully delineated in the labor legislation, and include general responsibility for the administration of

27. Cf. *Annual Report for Year 1956*, pp. 100 ff. During 1956, registrations for employment totalled 1748 persons, of whom 1189 were placed.

28. Cf. *Official Gazette*, No. 151, 3 May 1956, p. 3. A statistical expert was brought in from the British Middle East Development Division to conduct the census. His report has been referred to repeatedly in the development of this article (Porter, *op. cit.*)

29. *Idem*, No. 11, 14 March 1957, p. 5.

30. *Idem*, No. 37, 12 September 1957, p. 3. The Commissioner is a member of the ruling family and is a judge of the Senior Court of Bahrain. He formerly handled labor disputes between Bapco and its employees, and was a member of the Labor Law Advisory Committee.

the labor law, its interpretation, supervision of trade unions, registration of contracts of service and collective agreements, receiving and examining of labor complaints, formation of mediation and arbitration board, and the handling of compensation claims. To advise him on labor questions referred to him by the Government, he may call upon the Labor Law Advisory Committee or any other persons appointed by the Government.

Summary

Compared with most Middle Eastern labor legislation, Bahrayn's legislation is remarkable. The credit for this is in large measure due the Labor Law Advisory Committee and the British labor advisers, who can add this to their other fair and sensible contributions to Middle Eastern labor legislation. While at first glance Bahrayn's labor legislation might appear unduly weighted in favor of the employers, two things should be considered before final judgment is passed. In the first place, Bahrayn had just passed through perilous times, during which a plan to effect a *coup d'état* and the assassination of various members of the Government was uncovered. The labor movement had been implicated. Instead of suppressing labor, however, the Government granted labor several major concessions, including freedom to organize and the right to strike. And in the second place, the fact that labor in Bahrayn was granted as much as it was, is especially remarkable when contrasted with the sharp reverse given labor at this time by the Saudi Arabian Government only a few miles away.

In the meantime, the trade union movement has disappeared. Its former leaders who are still at liberty are afraid to come forward and begin again. As for the employers, their Joint Consultative Committees do not exist either, although some interest has been shown recently in re-establishing them. Without the unions, of course, collective bargaining is still unknown in Bahrayn. But with few exceptions, collective bargaining as it is known in the West does not exist in the Middle East in any case. In fact, the labor legislation leaves little room for collective bargaining.

It can be safely assumed that re-establishment of a strong labor movement on Bahrayn will be closely tied to politics and Arab nationalism. To this end serious attempts have been made by various international groups to re-establish and capture the labor movement. These attempts will probably continue. Bahrayn has now, however, the tools to cope with the labor problems, no matter what the origin.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

"Reservoir of Good Will"

In an interview several weeks ago with R. K. Karanija, editor of the sensationalist Bombay magazine *Blitz*, UAR President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir went through the recent history of UAR-USSR relations. From 'Abd al-Nasir's point of view, the deterioration in these relations stems from the Russian attitude toward Arab communists, typified by Premier Khrushchev's statement that he considered himself responsible for the protection of these communists. It was first the "conspiracy" of Syrian communists against the Union, and then the Iraqi communists' influence on Iraqi events which led him to attack, not only communism in the Arab States, but the Soviet Union as well for its interference in Arab internal affairs.

In the course of this interview as printed, President 'Abd al-Nasir used a phrase which must make those with even the shortest memories reflect how tumultuous is change in the Arab world today. 'Abd al-Nasir said "... During the past three years, our relations with Russia have been very friendly. Russia built itself a large *reservoir of good will* [italics ours] in various parts of the Arab world, thanks to its support of Arab nationalism and its understanding of Arab neutrality, or at least this is what we believed until last December when I found it necessary to attack the Syrian Communist Party."

A "reservoir of good will" was what the United States used to be supposed to have in the Arab world, before its interests there became political and economic rather than eleemosynary, before they were public instead of private and when disinterestedness was assumed. But interests connote involvement, and involvement the clash of ideas. The longer the period of involvement, the more fixed positions are built up from which nations find it more and more difficult to retreat.

Writing in this *Journal* just three years ago, Professor Bernard Lewis examined the then new Russian moves: "The Russians, by joining in the Middle East game, have given up their advantage of non-involvement and remoteness—of having no past record of dealing with the Arab States which could be brought against them as a reproach. The things which they are now doing, or promising to do, such as delivering arms and offering loans and technical advice, are, after all, the same things as the Western powers have been doing for some time. By engaging in these activities, the Russians are challenging comparison with the West, and, on the whole it is a comparison which the West has no reason to fear. . . . At the present time [1956] many leaders of the Middle East and Asian states are still blinded by the new light from Moscow. But we may reasonably hope that in the long run, when they have had the opportunity and leisure to compare Russian and Western treatment—in what is given, how much is given and *what is required in return* [italics added] the comparison will not be to our disadvantage."

The well-known Russian commentator on the Middle East, I. Belyaev, took the occasion of the appearance of this article to loose a polemic against the *Journal* in general and Mr. Lewis in particular. "Biased Approach," he called it (*Sovremennyi Vostok*, April, 1957). *Journal* articles have, according to Mr. Belyaev, "a biased and prejudiced point of view and exhibit clearly anti-Soviet feelings." Mr. Lewis best exemplified this "approach" by his "invalid" thesis that the USSR seeks to sovietize the Middle East. Nothing further from the truth, according to Belyaev. In the first half of 1959, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir would seem to be among those who do not agree with him.

One lesson to be learned, perhaps, is that the phrase under which these lines are written is a

poor figure of speech. "Reservoirs" of good will are, in international relations, much more easily breached and drained than those of the Bureau of Reclamation.

Somalia

The outlook for the new "Republic of Somalia," which will come into existence on December 2, 1956, appears to be none too encouraging. That the Somalis may be unable to survive as an independent nation-state unless permanently taken under the wing of the UN is quite possible, despite the intense efforts of the Italian administration since 1950 to develop the area politically and economically. In a rush against time, Italy has achieved impressive results in its attempt to establish a modern governmental structure and develop responsible political institutions in an illiterate society, seventy percent of which is tribal and nomadic. Thousands of Somalis now fill administrative positions in both the local and national governments; District and Municipal Councils and a national Legislative Assembly are functioning; a Constitution has been drafted for presentation to a proposed constituent assembly this year; political parties have been organized and supported; and four elections—two on the local level and two on the national—have been held, with up to eighty-five percent of the eligible electors participating.

While such gains in so short a time should not be disparaged, it is evident that democratic institutions and ideals have not as yet taken firm root among the people, nor permeated society to the extent necessary for a really cohesive state. The Western forms are there; substance, however, seems to be lacking. Historical tribal rivalries still split the state and form the real basis for political party differences. Corruption marked the recent elections in the tribal areas. A model Constitution, based on both Western law and the *Sharia*, will probably be adopted, but there is little indication that it will truly become the "supreme law of the land." Civil and social rights, so minutely outlined in the Constitution, have already been sacrificed

by the dominant Somali Youth League to the requirements of stability. This pattern is often characteristic of new states upon which Western constitutionalism has been superimposed—a gap exists between democratic intent and implementation during a long period of trial and error following national independence. As in the case of other states, the Somalis may be able to achieve ultimate stability with democracy—provided that they survive as an independent state.

It is here that the greatest weakness of this East African experiment is found. A necessary element for the continuance of a state as a going concern is economic viability. And without permanent economic assistance, Somalia will not be viable. Achievements in economic development have been far less impressive than they have in the political sphere, and there has been some strong criticism of the current Seven-Year Development Program (especially by the Egyptian members of the UN "Watchdog Commission" in Mogadishu). Perhaps more could have been done, but it is difficult to see what and how. Somalia has no mineral wealth. Agriculture has been stimulated, but it is limited by the lack of rainfall, and intensive farming is confined to the immediate areas near the country's two rivers. The livestock industry has been encouraged, but it does not constitute an export. Bananas are the only export of any account, and it is difficult for them to compete on the world market because they are perishable. Figures vary, but there is at least a fifty percent yearly deficit in Somalia's balance of payments and in the annual budget. About \$10 million in outside aid has been required to keep the government going since 1950, and the UN estimates that this need will continue for at least ten years after independence. Less optimistic estimates conclude that the need will never end, despite hoped-for improvements in the country's economic posture. Proposals for a union of all Somali peoples—and more immediately with British Somaliland—may be desirable politically (although Ethiopia will hear none of

it!), but it will hardly help Somalia out of its economic plight, for zero plus zero equals zero. In short, Somalia will have to be supported for some time to come, and, perhaps, indefinitely in order to survive. And the question is, who is going to pay for it, directly or through the UN?

The Republic of Cyprus

In the Summer issue forthcoming, the *Journal* plans to devote an important amount of its space to consideration of Cyprus, about to become an independent state. The agreement of February 19 among the British, Greek and Turkish governments, with the participation of representatives of the Greek and Turkish ethnic groups of the island, has, for the time being, put an end to the tragic course of events there since the spring of 1955.

Examination of the agreement leads to the conclusion that the Greek parties to the dispute have made the largest concessions to amicable settlement. Those both of Greece itself and of Cyprus have given up the rallying cry of *Enosis!* and their ideal of this union for an independent state which, while it will generally have representative rule by majority, will also operate under a number of safeguards which in effect give the Turkish minority a powerful nay-saying voice. While the Turks themselves have given up their counter-cry of *taksim*, partition, this was always more of a response to the Greek claim than it was an original desire. They would have been willing to see British rule continued.

One of the most interesting features of the agreement is the institution of the ethnic Turkish Vice President of the republic: he will have the same right as the ethnic Greek President to exercise a "final veto" over all laws concerning foreign affairs, defense or security—an executive number two position without a parallel. Another important safeguard of minority states is the requirement that any change in the organic law will require the two-thirds vote of each of the two ethnic groups in the House

of Representatives. In both the House and the Council of Ministers there is a seven-three ratio of Greeks to Turks, instead of Cyprus' approximate four-one ratio of its 544,000 inhabitants. While the number of Greek and Turkish troops to be stationed on the island is nominal—950 and 450 respectively,—the Cypriot defense force itself will have a significant division. Out of the 2000-man force envisaged, sixty percent will be from the Greek population, forty from the Turkish.

Other provisions also maintain essentially intact the British military position on the island and therefore conserve the principal interest Britain has there. One head of the agreement provides for the maintenance of the military bases now on the island, as well as the use of all the transport facilities necessary to their functioning. The formal transfer of power will, therefore, relieve Britain more of a problem than it will weaken her international military position.

Regardless of how elaborately organic laws are drawn, and given the reasonable hope that these political compromises will work effectively, the new nation will still be faced with problems which now seem almost insuperable. Cyprus is yet another of the "have-not" entities of the Middle East. The comparative prosperity it has enjoyed for the last ten years has been due to a set of circumstances which cannot now be projected into its independent future: its excess population has been drained off by emigration, principally to England; its grain crop has been heavily subsidized by the British government; one of its two major industries has been construction—mostly for the British military; net capital transfer from the British Treasury in 1957 amounted to \$56 millions, which made up its substantial deficit in trade. Greece and Turkey are not in a very good position to help others, but it is obvious that substantial aid must come from somewhere if Cyprus is even to maintain its present standard of living. The founding fathers of the new Republic face gigantic tasks.

World Refugee Year

With the cooperation of thirty-one nations, the United Nations will begin an effort on July 1 of this year, designated as "World Refugee Year" to attempt the solution of the problem of displaced persons the world over. President Eisenhower has already called together a distinguished group of American citizens to plan the participation of this country in the undertaking. The traditional role of the United States as a haven for the oppressed and homeless has not had much significance for a generation or more, but its philanthropic activities have continued, if not always in measure to the problem.

It is the unenviable position of the area with which we concern ourselves to be the locale of a major portion of the unfortunates. The plight of the Arab refugees of Palestine is well-known and has, for almost eleven years now, been a United Nations concern. UNRWA, the UN agency which has cared for these million per-

sons during most of these years, is slated for abolition in 1960, with no provision for future care, unless the General Assembly changes its collective mind. Even the tentative plans of the World Refugee Year would not do much for a definitive settlement of the problems of the Palestine Arabs.

Less well-known is the situation of the Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco. According to latest estimates, there are now more than 160,000 of these people, supported for the most part by the host countries, themselves ill-prepared to do more than care for their own. Those in Tunisia have been the recipients of sporadic and insufficient generosity; those in Morocco have received little or no attention from the rest of the world.

The World Refugee Year, with all the benefits that a "Year" brings, can do much to alleviate misery. Only a political solution can, of course, bring an end to these sufferings.

Chronology

December 16, 1958-March 15, 1959

General

1958

Dec. 16: Radio Baghdad reported that the government had decided to close its border with Iran and shut off telecommunications with that country.
Dec. 24: It was announced in Karachi that US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles would attend a meeting of the Baghdad Pact Ministerial Council in Jan. of 1959.

1959

Jan. 1: It was reported that India and Pakistan have failed to find a solution to their dispute over the use of the Indus River and its main tributaries.
Jan. 6: A subcommittee of the Arab League's Economic Council recommended that oil pipelines should be owned by an Arab company, and that Trans-Arabian Pipeline should not receive a renewal of its concession.
Jan. 12: The Arab Financial Institution for economic development came into being when Libya subscribed to its charter and raised the level of stock subscriptions to more than 75 percent of the projected total, it was reported.
Jan. 16: Eugene Black, President of the IBRD, pledged the full cooperation of his organization in the form of technical advice and service to the Arab Development Bank.

UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, on his return from the Middle East, said that in Israel, the UAR, and other Arab countries, there "is the will to peace."

Jan. 18: It was reported that several Arab states are planning to form a united front to demand an increased share of the proceeds from Middle East oil.
Jan. 19: The Jordanian government announced that an agreement with the UAR would clear away the "obstacles" blocking Jordanian shipping across the Syrian province of the UAR.

Jan. 22: The US asked the Baghdad Pact members for a greater share of the costs of economic development projects jointly undertaken within the framework of the Pact.

Jan. 23: The Economic Committee of the Baghdad Pact decided to create a Multilateral Technical Cooperation Fund to further economic development.

The Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact met in closed session to discuss mutual defense along the Soviet frontier from Pakistan to Turkey.

Jan. 25: The sixth session of the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact opened in Karachi.

Jan. 27: An Arab League official, Abu Bakr Bayar, was arrested in Cairo and charged with "communicating reports and information to a foreign country in time of war."

Jan. 28: It was reported that two Turkish planes had violated Syria's northeastern border.

Jan. 30: It was reported that Egyptian pilots training Iraqis to fly Soviet jets had returned to Cairo.

Jan. 31: The Cairo newspaper, *Al Abram*, charged that Premier al-Qasim of Iraq first accepted and then rejected an invitation from President Nasir for a meeting.

Feb. 12: Premier al-Qasim of Iraq has disclosed that Iraq is supplying arms to the Algerian rebels, it was reported.

Feb. 15: Arab League Secretary-General 'Abd al-Khalik Hassuna was quoted as saying that the migration of Jews to Israel was "the greatest peril faced by the Arabs since the creation of the state of Israel."

Mar. 5: Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan signed separate defense pacts with the US.

The State Department issued a statement saying that the US welcomed the signing of the defense pacts.

Mar. 6: The UAR lodged a protest with the Turkish-Syrian Mixed Border Commission against the alleged destruction by the Turks of a Syrian river dam near the town of Ein al-Arab.

Mar. 10: It was reported that Iraqi planes strafed and bombed a village three miles inside the Syrian border. The name of the village was reported as Hamoudiya.

Mar. 11: President Nasir of the UAR accused Iraqi Premier al-Qasim of trying to split Syria and Egypt. He alleged that such an objective was contrived with Communist "agents of a foreign power."

Iraqi demonstrators hanged President Nasir in effigy in Baghdad.

Mar. 12: President Nasir accused the Iraqi government of subjecting the Arab peoples to a "Communist reign of terror."

The UAR protested directly to the Iraqi government over an alleged Iraqi air raid on a Syrian village.

Mar. 13: President Nasir said in Damascus that there now "was no room for reconciliation" with Gen. al-Qasim of Iraq. He asserted that "the banners of Arab nationalism" would one day fly over Baghdad, it was reported.

Mar. 14: A UAR Army communiqué stated that three Iraqi planes staged a rocket attack inside Syrian territory and strafed two villages with machine guns. The communiqué blamed the "rulers of Iraq" for the incident.

Aden

1959

Jan. 4: Twelve political moderates were elected to the Legislative Council. The Aden Trades Union Congress had advocated a boycott of the election.

Feb. 3: Six Western Protectorate states agreed on a constitution for the proposed Federation, the Colonial Office announced.

Feb. 11: The rulers of six states in Western Aden formally signed a constitution for the Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South. At the signing ceremony, the British Colonial Secretary promised the states "eventual independence." The door remains open for other Aden states to join, it was announced.

Feb. 15: The Sultanate of Lower Aulaqi formally applied to join the Federation. Husayn ibn Ahmad, Minister of Interior for the Federation, said that several other states had also expressed an interest in joining.

Feb. 27: British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd said in a press interview that the new Federation "was in the best interests of the people and their rulers." He also affirmed Britain's pledge to support the Federation against aggression from without and subversion from within, it was reported.

Afghanistan

1959

Jan. 6: The State Department announced that Henry A. Byrode would succeed Sheldon T. Mills as US Ambassador to Afghanistan.

Algeria

(See also Iraq)

1958

Dec. 18: French Army sources said that 14 French soldiers had been killed and 24 wounded in a rebel attack south of Algiers.

Gen. Raoul Salan told the European colony in Algiers that he would "continue to work for a French Algeria" in his new post of Inspector-General of the Armed Forces.

Dec. 19: Army rule formally ended in Algeria as Paul Delouvrier arrived in Algiers to take over as France's civilian Delegate-General. Gen. Raoul Salan left for Paris. Delouvrier said that he was "certain" France would remain in Algeria, it was reported.

The French Cabinet announced that 100 billion francs (\$238,095,240) a year would be provided in the French budget for Algerian development over a five-year period.

The French Army announced that 13 rebels were slain in a mountain battle near the Moroccan border.

Dec. 20: A joint communique issued in Peking stated that Red China and the visiting Algerian Provisional Government delegation had reached a "unanimity of views" on a wide range of international problems, and plan to strengthen "mutual cooperation."

Dec. 28: A Muslim was killed and three others injured when an unidentified attacker tossed a grenade into a bar in Algiers.

Dec. 29: The Algerian Provisional Government announced that Algerian nationalists had killed 354 French soldiers, downed 10 French planes, destroyed two military

trains and seventeen military vehicles, and captured thirty-seven weapons in operations between Dec. 23 and 26.

Dec. 30: The minister of North African Affairs for the Algerian Provisional Government said that the rebels would not resume "secret contacts" with the French unless Premier de Gaulle was willing to accept a "political settlement of the war." He also accused the French Premier of bad faith last summer when he inaugurated preliminary negotiations with the rebels which "he did not want to succeed."

Dec. 31: New taxes on gasoline, alcohol, wine, and tobacco were announced by the French in the Algerian budget. It was reported that the new taxes would net about \$41,000,000.

1959

Jan. 2: The French army announced that French forces had killed 136 Algerian rebels in a one-day battle.

Jan. 4: The Algerian Provisional Government announced that 433 French soldiers had been killed and 189 wounded in rebel operations between Dec. 28 and Jan. 1.

Jan. 6: It was reported from Algiers that the administration of Paul Delouvrier was "settling down" to civilian rule in Algeria after nearly eight months of military control. Military officers in the central government have been shifted to field commands.

Jan. 7: The French Army announced that at least 220 Algerian rebels were killed in the "biggest battle" in Algeria since last Spring in the region of Kabylia. It was also reported that French planes and artillery pounded rebel strongholds in the region.

Jan. 8: In his inaugural address on becoming President of France, Gen. de Gaulle declared that in the French Community, "place is reserved for the Algeria of tomorrow, pacified and transformed, developing herself, her personality, and closely associated with France."

Jan. 10: It was reported that President de Gaulle is considering amnesty for four members of the Algerian Provisional Government imprisoned in France. The members are Ahmad Ben Bella, Muhammad Khider, Husayn Ait Ahmad and Muhammad Boudiaf.

Jan. 13: The French government decreed wide measures of clemency for Algerian rebels. The measures included transfer of Ahmad Ben Bella and three other rebel leaders from Santé Prison in Paris to an "undisclosed fortress"; permission for Haj Messali, leader of the Algerian National Movement to live "anywhere in continental France;" commutation of the death sentences of about 140 rebels to life imprisonment; reduction of the prison sentences of all rebels by one-tenth or more; and release of nearly 7,000 persons interned in Algeria by administrative decision.

Jan. 14: The Algerian Provisional Government said that France's decision to release thousands of Algerians "could be positive" only if backed by France's willingness to negotiate directly with the rebel government, it was reported.

Jan. 15: Premier Michel Debré affirmed French sov-

ereignty over Algeria before the National Assembly and renewed France's offer to provide safe conduct for rebel leaders to come to France to discuss a cease fire in Algeria. At the same time, President de Gaulle sent a message to the Assembly in which he declared that "a political solution for Algeria could arise only from universal suffrage," and added that France would "make no political settlement with the Algerian Provisional Government."

Jan. 16: The French National Assembly approved Premier Debré's program for Algeria by a vote of 453 to 56. Communists and Socialists voted against the Premier, it was reported.

Jan. 21: It was reported that French authorities in Algeria were releasing Algerian prisoners in accordance with President de Gaulle's order. It was also reported that between 18,000 and 19,000 rebels would be kept in custody after release of the 7,000 ordered by the French President.

Jan. 22: It was reported that 14 French soldiers were killed when their convoy was ambushed by Algerian insurgents in northeastern Algeria.

Jan. 23: The French Army announced that Algerian rebels had destroyed a train carrying oil from Touggourt in the Sahara to the Mediterranean coast. No victims were reported.

Jan. 24: Hadj Messali, leader of the Algerian National Movement who was released from "forced residence" in a general amnesty, declared that France should "organize a round-table conference with Algerian representatives." He also declared that independence was still the goal of the movement he heads.

Jan. 25: It was reported from Tunis that the Algerian Provisional Government would directly appeal to US and European business concerns to keep their companies and investments out of Algeria.

Jan. 26: The French government denied that it was "turning control of Sahara oil over to foreign concerns." The denial followed criticism in the French Press of an agreement between the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) with two French concerns to exploit a new oil area in Algeria.

Jan. 27: The Algerian Provisional Government declared "regretfully" that it saw "no prospect for peace in Algeria" at the present time. It also warned that contracts such as the one signed by the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) for the exploitation of Saharan oil, "would not be binding on the nationalist regime once independence was achieved."

Jan. 28: It was announced in Paris that President de Gaulle had appointed Gen. Jacques Massu interim Commander of the French Army in Algeria. He also designated Gen. Paul Ely as Chief of the General Staff for Defense and Gen. Raoul Salan as Military Governor of Paris.

Jan. 29: French military sources reported that 69 national rebels had been killed in a battle in the Ténès area of Algeria.

President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia declared that "French policies alone were to blame" for the failure

to bring peace to Algeria. He also declared that Tunisia would take "action on the international level to prove that part of the territory" in Algeria, where the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) recently acquired rights, belonged to Tunisia.

Jan. 30: President de Gaulle again reiterated his offer of "honorable conditions" for the Algerian rebels in return for a cease-fire.

It was announced that the US has given \$100,000 to the UN to assist Algerian refugees in Tunisia.

Jan. 31: It was reported from Tunis that "high Tunisian officials" fear that the Algerian revolt will spread into other countries if there is no political negotiation between France and the rebels. They also fear that Tunisia and Morocco may be drawn into the conflict.

Feb. 7: Two Algerian rebels were sentenced to death in Paris for having attempted to assassinate Jacques Soustelle on Sept. 15, 1958.

Feb. 8: Premier Debré arrived in Algiers. He declared in a speech that "I give you the assurance, in the name of the government, that we shall forthwith bring a new determination to bear for the French sovereignty which covers this side of the Mediterranean as it does the other."

Feb. 10: Premier Debré presided over the first meeting of a forty-six-member commission established to work out the details of an economic-development plan for Algeria, announced last Fall by Gen. de Gaulle. The commission appealed for French and foreign investments in Algeria, and stated that "any concern establishing itself in Algeria" would receive subsidies and tax reductions.

Several incidents of violence marred the Premier's visit to Algiers, it was reported.

President de Gaulle signed a decree which abolished the Muslim custom for obtaining a divorce in Algeria. The decree declared that divorces can only be effected by a divorce court. It also prohibited the marriage of Muslim women without their consent.

Feb. 12: The French Army announced that "more than half" of a band of 200 rebels which entered Algeria from Tunisia have been killed or captured.

Gen. de Gaulle instructed government ministers to visit Algeria frequently for the purpose of defining government policy there and to see that it was implemented.

Feb. 17: President Bourguiba of Tunisia declared that his country "might demand the liquidation of the remaining French military base in Tunisia if peace in Algeria was not in sight within four months." He indicated that Tunisia would allow the French to retain the naval base at Bizerte in exchange for "French recognition of nationalist aspirations" in Algeria.

The Association for the Safeguard of Judicial Institutions and Individual Liberties, a non-political group formed in France in 1957, has renewed its charges that "inhumane methods" are being employed in continental France and in Algeria to put down the Algerian rebellion, it was reported.

Feb. 20: The Algerian rebels released six French soldiers captured last year.

Feb. 22: A mob of Frenchmen in Algiers clamored for the death of Algerian rebel leaders and of President Bourguiba of Tunisia. Police squads broke up the demonstration.

Haj Messali, Algerian nationalist leader, appealed for unity among his countrymen in a statement issued in Paris.

Feb. 23: The Algerian Provisional Government announced that Premier Farhat Abbas would visit King Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia "within the next week." The announcement said that he would then visit Kuwait, Beirut, Baghdad and Damascus. It was reported that the purpose of the trip was to "speed up" Arab League financial support for the Algerian rebels.

Feb. 24: In a letter to all newsmen and publications accredited to France's Ministry of the Armed Forces, the Ministry warned the French and foreign press against "premature or erroneous" stories on "military problems, and, in particular, the operations in Algeria."

Feb. 26: The French government announced an electoral decree under which Algerians will elect municipal councils throughout Algeria between April 19 and 26. Elections will take place in all but the "most troublesome fighting zones." The decree assures Muslims of a majority on the municipal councils in those areas where Muslims outnumber the French.

Mar. 2: The French Army announced that Algerian insurgents had shelled the city of Blida. No injuries were reported.

Mar. 3: It was reported from Cairo that "a battle" over the direction of the Algerian movement had broken out in the ranks of the Algerian Provisional Government.

'Abd al-Qadir Chanderli, the Provisional Government's representative at the UN, declared that reports of discord in his government were "pure press speculation."

Mar. 5: French authorities in Algeria reported that an American photographer, Homer Flint Kellems, and his German interpreter were killed when their car was ambushed by nationalist rebels in Western Algeria.

Mar. 9: The French Army announced that 815 Algerian rebels were killed, wounded, or captured in operations between Mar. 2 and 8, it was reported.

Mar. 12: The French government seized an edition of the newspaper, *L'Express*, which contained an interview with an Algerian rebel. The government stated that the article constituted an "indecent eulogy of the rebel forces against which the nation and the army are fighting."

Mar. 13: Two Algerians were reported killed and two wounded when gunmen fired into a bar in northeast Paris.

Cyprus

(See also Turkey)

1958

Dec. 18: A British spokesman was reported to have said

that the Foreign Ministers of Britain, Greece, and Turkey had held "useful" talks at a secret meeting in Paris on ways to settle the Cyprus problem.

Two Greek-Cypriots received a reprieve of their death sentence.

Dec. 20: Greek Foreign Minister Averoff-Tosizza said in Paris that a new Greek-Turkish-British approach toward a Cyprus settlement envisioned "a form of independence" for the island.

Two British airmen were killed by a mine explosion in Eastern Cyprus.

Gov. Sir Hugh Foot appealed to the people of Cyprus to rid the island of violence in the coming year.

Dec. 22: Twenty-five political detainees were released from security camps in Cyprus.

Dec. 23: The British announced that the curfew on Greek-Cypriot young men would be lifted on Christmas morning.

Dec. 24: The Greek terrorist organization, EOKA, offered to cease its activities if Britain "did the same," it was reported. Gov. Foot called a conference to discuss the offer.

Dec. 28: The Greek and Turkish Cypriote press attacked the British administration's plan to increase the prices of gasoline, bread, and automobile licences to help cover the cost of battling terrorists on the island.

Dec. 30: The British commuted the death sentences of six Greek-Cypriote terrorists to life imprisonment.

1959

Jan. 3: It was reported that Turkish Foreign Minister Zorlu conferred with the Greek Ambassador to Turkey "under circumstances strongly suggesting early developments on the Cyprus issue."

Jan. 13: Gov. Sir Hugh Foot told the people of Cyprus that Archbishop Makarios and others deported from the island would be allowed to return if the truce by the Greek-Cypriote rebels "became a permanent peace."

Greek officials in Athens refused comment on the Foot broadcast.

Jan. 14: Archbishop Makarios told reporters in New York that he was "sure" a settlement could be found to the Cyprus problem.

Jan. 15: Archbishop Makarios arrived in Athens. He said that the truce on Cyprus "could become permanent if the British rulers showed a spirit of goodwill."

Foreign Minister Zorlu of Turkey left Ankara for Paris to confer with British and Greek diplomats on the Cyprus problem.

Jan. 17: Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Averoff-Tosizza arrived in Paris to discuss the Cyprus issue with the Turkish Foreign Minister.

Jan. 19: The Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers continued their secret negotiations in Paris. It was reported that the discussions had produced "an atmosphere of optimism" over the possibility of a Cyprus settlement.

The Greek-Cypriote underground organization, EOKA, continued to observe a truce on the island.

Jan. 20: British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd told the House of Commons that Britain would continue its anti-terrorist campaign on Cyprus despite the fact that EOKA had declared a truce. He also reported that there had been no terrorist activity on the island since Dec. 23.

The Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers ended their discussions in Paris. They issued a statement that their negotiations had been "fruitful and useful" in removing some obstacles to agreement on the Cyprus problem.

Jan. 21: The British released 35 Greek-Cypriote prisoners.

The Greek Foreign Minister arrived in Athens and told the press that the statement issued in Paris on Jan. 20 may have been "over-optimistic," it was reported.

Jan. 22: British forces dispersed a mob of Greek-Cypriotes demonstrating outside Agros in the Troodos Mountains.

Jan. 26: The Greek Ambassador in London called on Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd for what was described by the Foreign Office as "a general exchange of views about developments on the Cyprus question."

Archbishop Makarios said in Athens that he was "rather optimistic" about the possibility of settling the problem.

Feb. 4: It was announced in Ankara that the Premiers of Greece and Turkey would meet on Feb. 6 in Zurich to iron out their differences on the Cyprus question.

A government spokesman in Greece told the press that conversations "would take place in Switzerland," but added that "no solution, no matter how much desired by Greece and Turkey, can be considered valid unless the Cypriote people were consulted and concur."

Feb. 5: Turkish Premier Adnan Menderes and Greek Premier Konstantin Karamanlis arrived in Switzerland.

It was reported that "a wave of optimism" had swept Cyprus over the news about Greek-Turkish negotiations.

Feb. 6: Formal talks began between Greece and Turkey in Zurich on the Cyprus problem. The conference was secret, but a spokesman told the press that discussions were "frank and cordial."

The British on Cyprus paid compensation to relatives of two Greek-Cypriotes who were killed during a mass round-up by British forces in Famagusta on Oct. 3, 1958.

Feb. 8: It was reported from Zurich that the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers were drafting a constitution for an "independent" Cyprus.

Feb. 9: The British released 40 Greek-Cypriotes.

Feb. 10: The Greek Foreign Minister said that Greece and Turkey "were close to an agreement," it was reported.

Feb. 11: Authoritative sources announced that Turkey and Greece had reached agreement on a settlement for Cyprus. According to these sources, the agreement included: independence for the island "possibly by the

end of 1959;" establishment of a republican form of government with an ethnic Greek-Cypriote President and an ethnic Turkish-Cypriote Vice-President; a single Legislature with two-thirds of its seats allotted to the Greek community and one-third to the Turkish community; retention of a veto power by the Vice-President on policies affecting the security of Turkey and the position of the Turkish-Cypriote minority; retention by Britain of its military bases on the island; and the signing of a treaty by Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and Britain to guarantee Cypriote independence and Turkish security.

Premier Karamanlis arrived in Athens and announced that he was "satisfied and proud" over the Cyprus accord.

Archbishop Makarios announced his support of the agreement.

The Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers arrived in London to present the terms of the accord to the British Government.

An official spokesman for the Foreign Office announced that Britain "welcomed" the initiative of Greece and Turkey in reaching an agreement on Cyprus.

Feb. 12: The Foreign Ministers of Britain, Greece, and Turkey began discussions in London on the calling of a conference to work out the details of an agreement which would grant independence to Cyprus, it was reported.

It was reported from Ankara that the Turkish Cabinet had approved of the Cyprus agreement.

Feb. 13: It was announced that British, Greek, and Turkish representatives would meet in London with Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Fazil Kutchuk on February 17 to seek final agreement on Cyprus.

Feb. 15: Archbishop Makarios arrived in London.

Feb. 16: The Greek government announced that Premier Karamanlis would leave Athens for London.

Feb. 17: The first session of the Cyprus Conference in London opened. It was reported that both Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Fazil Kutchuk had agreed to the Zurich accord.

Premier Adnan Menderes, arriving in London to attend the Cyprus Conference, escaped death in the crash of a Turkish airliner. It was announced that the Conference would be postponed pending the Turkish Premier's recovery.

The Soviet Union charged in *Pravda* that "US pressure and colonialist collusion" had forced Greece and Turkey to "stab in the back" the people of Cyprus.

Feb. 18: It was reported that Archbishop Makarios raised certain objections to the terms of the Cyprus accord reached at Zurich. A meeting was held to discuss these objections.

Feb. 19: An agreement for the independence of Cyprus as a republic was signed in London. It was reported that the objections raised by Archbishop Makarios had been overcome.

Feb. 20: More than 1,000 Turkish-Cypriote students demonstrated in Nicosia against the signing of an

agreement granting independence for Cyprus. They demanded that the island be partitioned, it was reported.

The Premier of Greece arrived in Athens and was greeted by about 5,000 people.

Feb. 22: The British released all political prisoners on Cyprus.

Dr. Fazil Kutchuk said in London that Cyprus could "still be destroyed" if the spirit of cooperation shown during the conference did not continue.

Feb. 23: The text of the agreement signed in London was released. The agreement, patterned after the Zurich accord, contained the following details:

- 1) Cyprus will be granted independence by Feb. 19, 1960.
- 2) Britain will retain control of its military bases and enjoy the use of ports, roads, and public services required to make the bases "effective."
- 3) An ethnic Greek President and an ethnic Turkish Vice President will head the government. Each will retain the right of "final veto" over any law or decision concerning foreign affairs, defense, and security.
- 4) A treaty will be concluded by Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, and Britain to guarantee Cypriote independence.
- 5) A treaty will be signed by Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus providing for the stationing of 950 Greek troops and 450 Turkish troops on the island. The treaty will also provide for a Cypriote force of 2,000 men, 60 percent of which will be Greek and 40 percent, Turkish.
- 6) The Republic's House of Representatives will be composed of 70 percent Greek and 30 percent Turkish representation. This proportion will also be maintained in the police forces.
- 7) A Council of Ministers shall contain 7 Greek Cypriotes and 3 Turkish Cypriotes.
- 8) Decisions in both the House and Council will be taken by a majority vote. Changes in the constitutional law will require a two-thirds majority vote in each of the two communal groups in the House.
- 9) A five-man committee will draft a constitution for the island.

Feb. 24: The order exiling Archbishop Makarios from Cyprus was officially rescinded. Gov. Sir Hugh Foot also announced that a general amnesty for all terrorists would be issued.

Feb. 25: A disturbance broke out in the Greek Chamber of Deputies after a leader of the opposition declared that the agreement on Cyprus was "bloodless and cowardly."

Parades and celebrations were held in Nicosia, it was reported.

Mar. 1: Archbishop Makarios returned to Cyprus after three years of exile. He was welcomed by 150,000 cheering Greek-Cypriotes.

Mar. 2: Gov. Sir Hugh Foot and Archbishop Makarios discussed establishment of a "transitional committee"

to prepare for a change-over from colonial to ministerial government.

Mar. 3: Archbishop Makarios declared that he would ask EOKA to turn over its arms and ammunition to the British government.

Mar. 4: The Turkish National Assembly approved the agreement on Cyprus.

Mar. 8: It was reported that Col. George Grivas, leader of EOKA, would leave Cyprus for Greece.

Several British soldiers were injured in a clash in Famagusta.

Mar. 9: Dr. Fazil Kutchuk and Rauf R. Denktash, Turkish-Cypriote leaders, were called to Ankara to confer with the Turkish government on implementation of the London agreement.

Mar. 10: Turkish leaders on Cyprus announced plans to induce more Turks into business and industry on the island. They said they had asked Ankara for aid in financing the program.

Mar. 13: EOKA turned over its arms and ammunition to British authorities at selected delivery points throughout Cyprus.

Col. George Grivas said that he had "no intention of entering politics either in Cyprus or Greece," it was reported.

Ethiopia and the Somalilands

1958

Dec. 28: UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld arrived in Addis Ababa to attend the opening session of the UN Economic Commission for Africa. He was greeted by Emperor Haile Selassie.

Dec. 29: Emperor Haile Selassie, in an address before the UN Economic Commission for Africa, declared that African people were "still regarded as substandard," despite their living in one of the world's richest continents, because they "still do not enjoy freedom."

1959

Feb. 3: President Tito arrived in Addis Ababa for a ten-day state visit to Emperor Haile Selassie.

Feb. 9: British Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, declared in Hargeisa that the British plan to give the people of British Somaliland "executive responsibility" in the Government by 1960. By that time, he said, there would be a majority of Somalis in the Protectorate's Legislative Council. He further explained that this plan was being pushed because "neighboring Somalia is scheduled to become independent" in 1960. The Colonial Secretary also hinted that the people might be given the choice of early self-government or early association with Somalia, it was reported.

Feb. 10: The Ethiopian government expressed "concern" over any possible merger of British Somaliland with Somalia, it was reported.

Feb. 12: In a communique issued in Addis Ababa, Emperor Haile Selassie and President Tito called for initial disarmament agreements, cessation of nuclear tests, and

international economic assistance to less developed countries "with no strings attached."

Feb. 19: It was reported that the Ethiopian government has complained to the US, France, and other countries that the British "plan to carve a new British Commonwealth" out of the Somali territories in the horn of Africa.

Feb. 21: One person was killed and fourteen wounded in political rioting which broke out in Mogadishu, Somalia. About 280 persons were arrested, including the presidents of the Greater Somalia Party and the National Somali Union, it was reported. A curfew was instituted.

Feb. 26: It was announced in Geneva by the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training, a Jewish welfare agency, that plans were under consideration to aid the Falasha Jews of Ethiopia.

Feb. 28: The King and Queen of Greece arrived in Addis Ababa for a week's visit as the guests of Emperor Haile Selassie.

Mar. 8: Elections were held in Somalia.

Mar. 10: It was announced that the League of Somalia Youth, the ruling party in Somalia, won 83 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The Constitutional Party won 5 seats and the Liberal Party won 2, it was reported.

Iran

(See also General)

1959

Jan. 12: An Iranian newspaper reported that the Soviet government had offered Iran "unlimited aid" on condition that the Iranian government did not sign a bilateral defense agreement with the US.

Jan. 16: The Soviet Union warned Iran in a formal note against signing a military agreement with the US. The note offered to "exchange views" with Iran on the issue.

Feb. 4: The Iranian Foreign Minister told the Iranian Senate that Iran would remain "a loyal member of the Baghdad Pact." He described the Pact as "purely defensive with no aggressive designs."

Feb. 5: Iran rejected a Soviet note that warned her against signing a bilateral defense agreement with the US, it was reported.

Feb. 11: A Soviet mission in Iran for political discussions of Soviet-Iranian relations left for Moscow.

It was reported that the US, Britain, Turkey and Pakistan had sent notes to the Shah urging him to stand firm against Soviet pressures designed to prevent Iran from signing a defense agreement with the US. **Feb. 12:** The Soviet Union accused Iran of breaking off negotiations with Russia for nonaggression and economic aid treaties, and charged that Iran had "joined the ranks of the enemies of the Soviet Union" by insisting on signing a defense agreement with the US. The Soviet charge stated that a Soviet-Iranian Treaty, concluded in 1921 and providing for the movement of Soviet troops into Iran if the forces of a hostile

third nation entered that country, was still in force.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that talks with the Soviet Union had ended without reaching new military or economic agreements.

It was reported that an avalanche had killed 15 persons and injured 14 others in the mountains north of Teheran.

Feb. 15: The Iranian Foreign Minister, Ali Asghar Hekmat, said that "in the space age, one cannot remain neutral and isolated," and added that Iran would remain in the Western camp despite threats from the Soviet Union.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that the Soviets had requested a nonaggression pact with Iran provided that Iran left the Baghdad Pact, did not sign a defense agreement with the US, and promised not to allow military bases to be established on her territory.

Moscow radio said that "the rulers of Iran will come to realize the short-sightedness of their policy."

Feb. 16: The Iranian government announced that it would sign a bilateral defense agreement with the US "before March 21," and warned the Soviet Union to stop its attacks on Iran.

Feb. 22: The Soviet Ambassador in Teheran warned Iran that Russia will consider that country "an enemy" if the Iranian government signs a military agreement with the US, it was reported. Another report indicated that the Ambassador had warned the Iranian government that Russia would occupy Iran under a 1921 treaty if the pact were signed.

Premier Manouchehr Eghbal told the press that "we are not afraid of any threats."

The State Department announced that the US had "received nothing to indicate" that Russia had threatened to occupy Iran.

Feb. 23: In an editorial in the Vatican newspaper, *L'Observatore Romano*, referring to "rumors and hypotheses about a proposed marriage" between the Shah of Iran and a Catholic princess, the publication declared its opposition to the marriage because of "the danger to the faith of the Catholic part if the other part belongs to a non-Christian religion, whose doctrines, way of life, ritual usages, and customs are greatly different from and often contrary to Catholicism."

Feb. 24: The Shah declared before the Majlis that Iran would "definitely" sign a defense agreement with the US.

Premier Nikita Khrushchev declared in Moscow that the Soviet Union had a copy of the proposed military agreement between the US and Iran. "The secrets are not well kept," he said, and added that "we know everything and can tell the Shah a great deal if he wants information."

Feb. 25: The Soviet Ambassador to Iran denied reports that he had threatened Iran with Soviet occupation if the Iranian government entered into a military agreement with the US.

Feb. 28: Premier Manouchehr Eghbal took personal charge of Iran's one-billion-dollar Development Pro-

gram following the resignation on Feb. 21 of the Program's Director, Abol Hassan Ebtehaj. It had been rumored that there was some friction between the Director and the Premier.

Mar. 1: The Iranian Foreign Minister said that Iran was waiting for some sign of "goodwill and understanding" from the Soviet Union, but that he was "pessimistic" about receiving either.

Mar. 2: The Foreign Ministry announced that Iran had formally informed the Soviet Union that it considered "invalid" articles in the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 1921 which would permit the entry of Soviet troops into Iran if troops of a hostile country entered Iranian territory.

Mar. 4: Premier Manouchehr Eghbal said that he hoped the signing of a defense agreement with the US would open a new era of mutual respect and peace for Iran.

Mar. 12: Fire broke out in the Abadan oil refinery, but was brought quickly under control. No casualties were reported.

Iraq

(See also General, UAR)

1958

Dec. 16: US Assistant Secretary of State William Rountree conferred with Premier al-Qasim for nearly two hours.

The US Embassy was under heavy guard following demonstrations against Rountree's visit. The State Department said that the Iraqi government had "apparently made every effort to provide full protection" for Rountree.

Dec. 17: William Rountree left Baghdad for Washington.

Dec. 18: Trade talks opened between Iraq and Communist China in Baghdad. Minister of the Economy Ibrahim Kubbah told the visiting Chinese delegation that Iraq would accept unconditional economic and technical assistance "from all quarters."

Dec. 20: It was reported that "50,000 Iraqis attending a peace rally" at Najaf "approved of" cables sent to the Embassies of Iran and Turkey condemning the establishment of US military bases in those countries.

Dec. 22: A report from Teheran indicated that "fierce fighting" had broken out between Iraqi forces and Kurdish tribesmen on the border between Iraq and Iran.

The Ministry of Economy announced that the Basra Petroleum Company had agreed to forego its concession rights in Iraqi territorial waters.

Dec. 25: A trade agreement was signed between Iraq and Rumania. Minister of the Economy Ibrahim Kubbah said that Iraq would "cleanse its national economy of imperialist control" and "safeguard private enterprise and consolidate national capital."

Dec. 30: It was reported that ten persons were killed and ten injured in political clashes in Baghdad.

Iraq and India signed a trade agreement providing for an expansion of trade between the two states.

Dec. 31: The Iraqi National Front accused "Western imperialism" of "conspiring against Iraq, the UAR, and the free Arab movement," and described the recent visit by William Rountree as an attempt to "create a schism between Iraq and the UAR."

1959

Jan. 1: Iraq and Poland signed two agreements concerning trade and economic and technical cooperation.

Jan. 6: It was reported from Baghdad that Communists "were in control" of the People's Militia, and also hold "key positions" in the police force and army.

Premier al-Qasim was promoted to the rank of Major General in the Iraqi Army.

Iraq and Hungary signed a trade agreement in Baghdad.

Col. Isma'il al-'Arif, Iraqi military attaché in Washington, told the press that reports of Communist strength in his country were "absolutely false." He added that "there are no Communists in the Cabinet or top levels of the government."

Jan. 8: The Moscow radio reported that a Soviet trade delegation in Baghdad had discussed the possibility of Russian economic and technical aid with Iraqi officials.

Jan. 10: It was reported that Iraqi Communists attempted to "disrupt" prayer services in the mosques in Baghdad on Jan. 9. Pamphlets advocating atheism were circulated.

The President of the People's Court announced that former Premier Fadil al-Jamali and four other leaders of the former regime would be hanged "soon."

Jan. 11: It was announced that Iraq would not grant diplomatic recognition to the East German government at the present time.

Jan. 12: US Ambassador John T. Jernegan presented his credentials to the Iraqi Sovereignty Council in Baghdad.

Jan. 14: Premier al-Qasim ordered the People's Militia to refrain from any police activity "except under direct orders from the Army or the military Governor-General. The order also applied to the activities of the Iraqi Students Union.

Jan. 17: It was reported that Muslim religious leaders were exerting pressure on Premier al-Qasim to curb the "growing influence" of the Communists in Iraq.

Jan. 18: US Ambassador Jernegan conferred with Premier al-Qasim.

Jan. 24: The Iraqi government announced that Col. 'Abd al-Salam 'Arif and Rashid 'Ali al-Gailani had been secretly tried and convicted of treason.

Jan. 25: It was announced in Baghdad that three top Iraqi Communists hanged in 1949 had been granted a posthumous amnesty to mark "the country's appreciation of their services."

A new law was promulgated imposing the death penalty on any Iraqi citizen "who takes up arms against Iraq or any other Arab country."

Feb. 4: 'Abd al-Jabbar Fahmi, former Governor of Baghdad, Sa'id Qazzaz, former Interior Minister, and Bahjat 'Atiyah, former Security Chief, were found

guilty of "murder and torture" and sentenced to be hanged by the Military Court.

Feb. 7: Premier al-Qasim accepted the resignations of six members of the Iraqi Cabinet. They were Muhammad Salah Mahmud, Health; Sidiq Shanshal, National Guidance; Baba 'Ali, Works and Communications; 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Jumard, Foreign Affairs; Naji Talib, Social Affairs; and Fu'ad Rikabi, Minister of State. The Premier appointed the following new members of the Cabinet:

- Dr. Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik al-Shawaf—Health
- Hashim Jawwad—Foreign Affairs
- Brig. 'Abd al-Hamid—Education
- Husayn Jamil—National Guidance
- Brig. 'Abd al-Wahhab Anis—Social Affairs
- Hasan al-Talbani—Communications
- Tal'at al-Shaybani—Development
- Fu'ad 'Arif—Minister of State

Feb. 9: The Communist newspaper, *Ittihad al-Sba'b* was suspended for two weeks by the government for having criticized recent Cabinet shifts.

It was reported from Damascus that the Iraqi government has arrested 200 "Arab nationalists" since the announcement of Cabinet changes.

US Senator John Marshall Butler accused Iraq of having disclosed to the Soviet Union secret American bids on projects in Iraq. He added that the disclosure had enabled the Russians to win twenty choice contracts.

Feb. 10: It was reported that Iraq has received from 100 to 150 Soviet tanks since the revolution in July of 1958.

Feb. 12: It was reported that Husayn Jamil, new Minister of National Guidance, had resigned after "violent friction" with Premier al-Qasim.

Feb. 13: The Syrian press reported that 132 persons had been killed in clashes between Communists and "pan-Arab nationalists" in Mosul and Basrah.

Feb. 19: The British Foreign Office announced that Britain had delivered arms to Iraq "mainly for logistic support of British arms already possessed by the Iraqi Army."

Feb. 23: The Moscow radio reported that an Iraqi delegation had arrived in Moscow to complete negotiations for an agreement on economic and technical collaboration between the two countries.

Mar. 8: A revolt by several brigades of the Iraqi Army was reported to have occurred in northern Iraq under the leadership of Col. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Shawaf. Mosul Radio announced that the revolutionary group was opposed to the government of Premier al-Qasim and had established headquarters in Mosul. The broadcast also said that Col. al-Shawaf favored "a policy of positive neutrality and good relations with all states, especially with the UAR."

The government in Baghdad appealed to "the entire nation" to join in a hunt for the Army Commander charged with plotting against the state.

US State Department officials termed the uprising in Iraq a "family affair."

Mar. 9: The government of Premier al-Qasim asserted that the army revolt in northern Iraq had been crushed. It was reported that the Iraqi Air Force had bombed insurgent army units in Mosul.

Radio Mosul reported that the insurgents were still battling the Baghdad regime and were still "determined to overthrow Gen. al-Qasim."

It was also reported that Col. al-Shawaf had been killed by his own officers and that army units supporting the Baghdad government "were in full control in Mosul."

Demonstrations broke out in Baghdad when the government announced that the revolt in northern Iraq had been suppressed.

The Moscow radio charged that the US "might have deliberately stirred up the Iraqi revolt."

It was reported that both US officials and Turkish officials expressed fear that the uprising in northern Iraq might "pave the way" for far-reaching Soviet penetration of Iraq.

Unidentified "oil executives" told the press that there had been no interruption in the flow of oil from northern Iraq to the Mediterranean coast.

Mar. 13: It was reported that the revolt in northern Iraq had been crushed with the aid of Kurdish tribesmen, who "swarmed into rebel-held Mosul from the surrounding countryside."

Mar. 14: Nearly 2,000 people were killed in the army revolt against the Baghdad government, it was reported.

Israel

(See also General, Jordan, Palestine Problem)

1958

Dec. 16: It was announced that the Israeli census completed in November showed a total population of 2,022,000, of which 1,801,000 were Jews.

Dec. 28: The government announced the signing of a treaty of friendship, navigation and commerce with Liberia under which Israel will provide experts, technical assistance, and capital for industry, agriculture, and irrigation in Liberia.

The Chief Rabbi called for prayers for rain as drought continued to ruin crops and dry up wells.

Dec. 29: A Committee for Inter-Faith Understanding, composed of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, was established in Jerusalem.

Dec. 30: It was reported that Premier David Ben-Gurion promised to recommend the easing of restrictions on Arab citizens in Israel. The promise was made to five Arab members of the Knesset who have been pressing for the abolition of military government in the Arab areas.

1959

Jan. 5: A national budget calling for increased expenditures but holding income taxes at current levels was introduced into the Knesset. It was reported that the government hopes to rely on contributions from Jews abroad, reparations from West Germany, and loans

from the US to finance the budget. It was also reported that government subsidies for food costs would be reduced with a resulting increase in food prices.

Jan. 6: The Finance Ministry announced that Israel is negotiating in Paris to obtain investments of \$25,000,000 to finance a 16-inch oil pipeline from Elath to Beersheba.

Jan. 7: Light rain helped to relieve the drought in Israel. Levi Eshkol, the Israeli Finance Minister, arrived in New York for a three-day visit to meet with US and Canadian leaders of the Israel Bond Drive.

Jan. 9: The Israel Bond Organization reported in New York that \$46,540,650 had been raised in 1958 through the sale of Israeli bonds for "consolidating Israel's economic framework."

Jan. 11: Levi Eshkol said in New York that Israel would receive 100,000 more immigrants in 1959 from Eastern European countries.

Jan. 14: The government announced that Israel's first election in four years would be held on Nov. 17 of this year. The 120 members of the Fourth Knesset will be chosen.

Jan. 18: It was reported that about one-fifth of all unirrigated crops in Israel have been destroyed by the prolonged drought.

Jan. 20: Levi Eshkol urged American Jews to give "full philanthropic priority" to a special \$100 million fund sought by the UJA for the resettlement of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Jan. 21: A heavy rainfall broke Israel's drought.

Jan. 22: It was reported that Ogden R. Reid, former President and Editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, was under consideration by President Eisenhower to be appointed US Ambassador to Israel.

Jan. 23: The Israeli government announced appointment of Peretz Naphtali, formerly Minister Without Portfolio, as Minister of Social Welfare.

Jan. 27: A Finance Ministry spokesman said that Israel would soon ask the US for financial aid in the amount of \$20 to \$25 million to counter the effects of the drought, it was reported.

Jan. 28: Premier Ben-Gurion said that "factors underlying the migration of Jews from Rumania" might also result in "mass immigration" from the Soviet Union.

Joseph Sprinzak, Speaker of the Israeli Knesset since 1949, died in Jerusalem.

Feb. 9: Abba Eban, Israeli Ambassador to the US, said that his country could absorb the rising tide of immigration from Eastern Europe. "While this influx creates some short-term strains," he said, "its absorption is fully within Israel's capacities if these are augmented, as they should be, by the responsible solidarity of our fellow Jews abroad."

Feb. 11: Israel announced "acceptance" of Ogden R. Reid as US Ambassador.

Histadrut, Israeli trade union federation, announced that it will admit Israeli Arab workers to full membership.

Feb. 13: Mrs. Golda Meir, Israeli Foreign Minister,

arrived in New York. She is scheduled to speak at a conference of the UJA, it was reported.

Feb. 15: Leaders of nineteen major American Jewish organizations appealed to American Jews to give more financial support to the movement of Jews from Eastern Europe to Israel.

Feb. 20: Premier Ben-Gurion discounted Arab "warnings" that the current wave of immigration from Eastern Europe "would compel Israel to expand her frontiers."

Feb. 21: The Soviet Union said that it "would not alienate its Arab friends" by permitting the emigration of Jews in Russia to Israel.

Feb. 24: An Israeli Treasury official said that the purchase tax and customs duties have been increased on many commodities to finance the immigration of Eastern European Jews to Israel.

Feb. 26: An Israeli military court imposed a fine of 10 prutas (one-half cent) on Col. Issachar Shadmi after he was found guilty of issuing illegal orders which resulted in the death of forty-nine Arab villagers at Kafra Kasim in 1956.

Mar. 2: Rabbi Emanuel Rackman, President of the Rabbinical Council of America, appealed to President Eisenhower to extend "special emergency assistance" to Israel to aid in the absorption of immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Mar. 4: Israel began constructing an aqueduct that will transport water from the Jordan River to the Negev Desert.

Mar. 8: Rumania announced the expulsion of an Israeli diplomat for "activities incompatible with his duties." The charge was not explained.

Mar. 10: President Eisenhower sent to the US Senate the nomination of Ogden R. Reid to be Ambassador to Israel.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry protested to the Rumanian Minister at Tel Aviv against expulsion by Rumania of an Israeli attaché.

Mar. 12: It was reported that Jews emigrating from Rumania to Israel are arriving in Vienna.

Premier Ben-Gurion said in Tel Aviv that the "abyss between the rich people of Europe and the US and the poor of Asia and Africa" must be bridged.

Jordan

(See also General, Palestine Problem, UAR)

1958

Dec. 18: The Jordan government blacklisted 18 foreign commercial firms for allegedly "trading with Israel." The ban included nine American, four Italian, one German, one Swedish, one Swiss, and two British firms.

Jordan and Nationalist China opened talks on the possibility of improving trade relations.

Dec. 28: Jordan and the US signed an agreement under which the US will grant \$50,000 technical aid to teachers' training centers in Jordan.

1959

Jan. 6: Jordan refused permission for thirty-five nuns and monks holding Soviet passports to cross from

Israel into Jordan to celebrate Orthodox holy days in Bethlehem.

The US State Department announced that Sheldon T. Millis would be designated as US Ambassador to Jordan.

Jan. 13: A Finance Ministry spokesman announced that Jordan had received a grant of \$5,000,000 from the US to support its budget.

A new law was approved by royal decree under which Jordanians may be deprived of their nationality if they are "declared dangerous to public or state security" or if they have committed crimes against state security.

Jan. 14: The Council of Ministers approved a bill establishing a Central Bank for Jordan.

Jan. 16: The Jordanian government temporarily suspended an expulsion order against seven Armenian Orthodox churchmen, including three Americans, in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem, it was reported.

Jan. 19: It was announced that Jordan had reversed an earlier expulsion order against seven Armenian Orthodox churchmen.

Jan. 22: Gary Schwartz, an American who crossed into the Jordanian section of Jerusalem on Jan. 5, was returned by Jordan to Israel.

Jan. 23: Nine persons, including two Americans, were killed when a passenger plane crashed near Amman. King Husayn, who was flying in a helicopter at the time of the crash, was the first person to arrive on the scene. He directed rescue operations.

Jan. 24: It was reported that Jordan was suffering from a drought.

Jan. 25: King Husayn said in an interview that the next move in an improvement of "Arab relations with Jordan" was up to those Arab states that he felt had "inflicted a lot of injustice and bad treatment" upon Jordan. He hinted that he would be willing to end his feud with the UAR.

Jan. 26: The Cabinet formally revoked the citizenship of two former Army Chiefs of Staff, Maj. Gen. 'Ali Hayari and Gen. 'Ali Abu Nuwar, and of 46 other Jordanians accused of plotting against King Husayn.

Jan. 27: The Jordanian government announced the following Cabinet shifts:

Ahmad Tarawneh—Minister of Defense

Sam'i Da'ud—Minister of Finance and Economy
Muhammad Jabari—Minister of Justice

Jan. 28: It was revealed in London that the British government is pressing Jordan to account for British subsidies from 1955 through 1957.

Jan. 31: Thirty-two persons arrested after an attempt to overthrow the Jordanian government in 1957 were released.

Feb. 4: A royal decree placed the responsibility for the control and administration of the country's armed forces on the Minister of Defense. The Commander of the Army had previously carried this responsibility.

Feb. 8: The government announced that no person who had been a former member of a foreign political party would be allowed to enter Jordan.

Feb. 13: The government announced the release of fifty-three persons arrested in 1957 on charges of Communist activity. The former prisoners had "denounced Communism," it was reported.

Feb. 16: The American Topps Chewing Gum Company was blacklisted by the Jordanian government for allegedly trading with Israel.

Feb. 18: Nine swarms of locusts entered Jordan from neighboring countries.

Mar. 1: King Husayn opened a new broadcasting station in Amman. He said that the new station would be used as a "medium for unity and brotherhood" among Arabs.

Mar. 8: King Husayn left Amman on a six-week trip to the Far East, the US, and Britain.

Mar. 9: King Husayn arrived in Formosa.

Mar. 14: King Husayn watched a Chinese Nationalist airborne exercise and an amphibious landing in southern Formosa.

Kashmir

1959

Feb. 25: President Ayub Khan of Pakistan declared that settlement of the Kashmir dispute was "a question of life and death to Pakistan." He added that "we shall never fail the people of Kashmir to whom we have pledged our support in securing for them their inalienable right to self-determination."

Mar. 7: India charged in a letter to the President of the UN Security Council that Pakistan was using the forum of the Security Council to make "baseless allegations" against India on the Kashmir dispute.

Lebanon

1958

Dec. 17: Prime Minister Karami announced that the decree dismissing gendarmes who had joined the rebels would be repealed.

Dec. 18: Wharf and dock workers returned to work after their demands for higher wages and for annual and sick leave had been granted.

Dec. 23: Foreign Minister Husayn 'Uwayni left Beirut on a visit to Saudi Arabia.

Dec. 29: The Council of Justice acquitted several leaders of the National Union Front of a charge of having instigated a demonstration in Beirut in May of 1957 in which five persons were killed.

Dec. 31: A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice announced that 364 prisoners were released under an amnesty covering political crimes during the recent rebellion.

Former Premier Sa'ib Salam said in Cairo that supporters of former President Sham'un were involved in a plot against his life. The plot, he said, had been discovered by authorities in Beirut.

1959

Jan. 1: An explosion rocked central Beirut. No casualties were reported.

Jan. 2: The Council of Ministers decided to refer the

question of granting recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government to the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament, it was reported.

Jan. 12: Lebanon and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to increase annual trade between them.

Jan. 13: Sa'ib Salam returned to Beirut after a month's stay in Egypt.

Jan. 14: The US Embassy in Beirut announced that the US would lend Lebanon a helicopter and a crew to help fight an invasion of locusts.

Jan. 30: The UAR Minister of Economy arrived in Beirut for talks with Lebanese officials on relations between the two countries.

Feb. 11: Prime Minister Karami announced that talks to revise the 1948 financial agreement between Lebanon and France would begin in one week.

Feb. 19: George Hakim, Lebanon's new representative to the UN, presented his credentials to Secretary-General Hammarskjöld.

Feb. 27: Five persons were reported injured in clashes in downtown Beirut between friends and foes of President Nasir, it was reported. These clashes were considered to be a continuation of disorders that broke out on Feb. 22 when Nasir partisans celebrated the first anniversary of the Egyptian-Syrian merger.

Feb. 28: Minister of the Interior Raymond Eddé (Iddah) charged that the clashes in Beirut on Feb. 27 were instigated "by some politicians . . . who do not want to see relations among the Lebanese return to normal."

Mar. 10: Ambassador Nadim Dimashqiyah told US Senator J. W. Fulbright that "he doubted the usefulness of a study" being conducted for the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Institute of Mediterranean Affairs, under contract to the Committee to make a study of the effect of US policies in the Middle East. The Ambassador alleged that "several Israeli Zionists" were among the consultants to the Institute.

Libya

(See also General)

1959

Jan. 5: Libya announced that she was prepared to join the UAR, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia in the formation of an Arab Development Bank.

Jan. 12: Christopher Soames, British Secretary for War, completed a four-day inspection visit to British Army units stationed in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.

Jan. 20: The World Jewish Congress reported that the provincial government of Tripolitania had by decree taken over "all operations of the Jewish community and all its moneys, properties, deeds, papers, books, correspondence, files, and other things." It was also reported that there are about 3,000 Jews in Libya.

Jan. 21: A World Bank mission arrived in Libya to survey the Libyan economy and to help draw up a development program.

Informal trade talks were held between Libyan officials and a West German parliamentary delegation visiting Libya as guests of the government.

Jan. 23: The Tripoli Criminal Court sentenced two

Tunisians to 40 months in prison on a charge of attempting to kidnap a Libyan from a village on the Libyan-Tunisian border in March, 1958. It was also reported that the Tunisians had attempted the kidnapping because "the Libyans involved were aiding opponents of President Bourguiba."

Jan. 30: Premier 'Abd al-Majid Kubar told the press that the US was willing to negotiate for a revision of the Libyan-US base agreement.

Feb. 9: It was reported that US negotiations with Libya on the status of the base agreement opened.

Feb. 18: The State Department said that Libya wanted more US economic assistance in exchange for continued US operation of Wheelus air base in Libya.

Morocco

1958

Dec. 16: King Muhammad V asked 'Abdallah Ibrahim, leader of the left-wing of the Istiqlal Party, to form a new government. It was also reported that the left-wing favors stronger ties with the UAR.

Dec. 21: It was announced in Rabat that a new government had been formed.

Dec. 24: The new Moroccan government was invested by King Muhammad V. The members were:

'Abdallah Ibrahim—Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs

'Abd al-Rahim Bouabid—Vice-Premier; Minister of National Economy

Idris Hammedi—Minister of Interior

Muhammad Bahnini—Minister of Justice

Muhammad Aouad—Minister of National Defense

'Abd al-Karim Benjelloun—Minister of National Education, Youth, and Sports

Tihami Amar—Minister of Agriculture

'Abd al-Rahman Ben 'Abd al-'Ali—Minister of Public Works

Muhammad Madhub—Minister of Posts, Telegraph, and Telephone

Muhammad Bouabid—Minister of Labor and Social Affairs

Yusuf Ben Abbis—Minister of Health

Hasan Zemmouri—Undersecretary of Interior for Elections

Dec. 29: It was reported that tribal leaders in the Rif Mountains demanded that Morocco bring about the immediate withdrawal of all French forces from the country and threatened to attack French garrisons if the government were unable or unwilling to achieve this.

The government announced that it will not devalue its currency to conform to the devalued French franc.

Dec. 30: The Moroccan government issued a warrant for the arrest of Chief Lyoussi.

1959

Jan. 3: It was reported that Morocco rushed troops into the Fez region for a "showdown" with supporters of Chief Lyoussi.

Jan. 5: King Muhammad V issued an ultimatum to the Rif tribesmen to "return to their homes and cooper-

ate with civil and military authorities" within forty-eight hours. The ultimatum stated that those who disobey will "undergo cruel punishment."

Jan. 7: It was reported that 5,000 Rif tribesmen surrendered their arms in response to King Muhammad's ultimatum.

Jan. 9: It was reported that four-fifths of the Moroccan Army was operating in the Rif Mountain area against tribal insurgents.

Jan. 12: The Moroccan Army succeeded in clearing rebel road blocks in the Rif Mountains and in relieving the port of Alhucemas.

The Moroccan government imposed a 10 percent tax on all monetary transfers from Morocco to other countries in the franc zone.

Jan. 22: The Ministry of Economy announced increased controls over agriculture, commerce, and industry in an effort to hold down consumer prices and maintain the level of exports, despite heavy dependence on France for trade.

Jan. 23: It was reported that the Moroccan Army, successful in its efforts to put down tribal insurgents in the Rif Mountains, had shifted its operations to the Atlas Mountains.

Jan. 25: In mass meetings throughout Morocco, left-wing political leaders of the Istiqlal Party accused the Party leadership of "three years of weakness, negligence, and grave errors," and set up autonomous organizations with regional administrative committees. The leftist leaders declared their support of Premier Abdullah Ibrahim.

Jan. 26: 'Alal al-Fasi, leader of the Istiqlal Party, announced the expulsion of several of the Party's prominent members including Tihami Amar, Minister of Agriculture, and the President of the Consultative Assembly.

Jan. 27: Mahdi Ben Barks, President of the Consultative Assembly expelled from the Istiqlal Party, announced the formation of a new "party of the masses" called the Democratic Istiqlal Party.

'Alal al-Fasi appealed to the people to defend "the principles of fidelity to God, country, and King."

Jan. 28: A spokesman for the Istiqlal Party charged that the government had "violated its nonpartisan role by supporting the Leftists in their battle with Party leadership," and alleged that the government had begun to close Party offices and to arrest right-wing sympathizers.

Jan. 29: 'Abd al-Rahim, Deputy-Premier, said that he sympathized with the left-wing movement to take over the leadership of the Istiqlal Party. He announced that he would resign from the Executive Committee of the Party.

Jan. 31: "Authoritative Moroccan sources" disclosed that the US had offered Morocco \$40 million in economic aid for the 1959-60 fiscal year.

Feb. 1: The Moroccan High Court imposed the death penalty on former Gov. Addi ou Bihi and three other leaders of an alleged "revolt plot" in 1957.

Feb. 19: King Muhammad V accompanied Sgt. Ignace

Cacciaguerra, a French soldier taken prisoner in 1957, back to his home in Corsica.

Feb. 21: King Muhammad V returned from Corsica to celebrate Morocco's third anniversary of independence from France.

Pakistan

(See also General, Iran, Kashmir)

1958

Dec. 31: The US and Pakistan signed fourteen agreements covering the financing of programs of US economic and technical assistance to Pakistan.

1959

Jan. 3: It was reported that 168 persons died in a refugee town of a gastroenteritis epidemic.

Jan. 7: The government ordered high civil service officials to declare the extent of their assets.

The government announced that the cost-of-living index for Pakistan's industrial workers dropped 10.5 percent during the first month of the new military administration.

Jan. 11: Prime Minister Nehru said he favored extending India's hand in friendship to the people of Pakistan. He told the annual meeting of the Congress Party that "the mentality of threats and challenges" could lead to no good.

Jan. 17: The Finance Ministry announced that the Pakistani Treasury would get a tax windfall of about \$63 million from hitherto undeclared incomes.

Jan. 24: President Ayub Khan announced that a sweeping land reform program in West Pakistan would be carried out to curb the political power of landlords and give a "new deal" to the landless peasants. Under the program, ownership of land will be limited to 500 acres of irrigated land or 1,000 acres of unirrigated land. Holdings over these limits will be taken by the government for distribution among the peasants.

Jan. 29: Two Americans were killed when a Pakistani airplane crashed near Rawalpindi.

Jan. 31: The government announced that the number of pilgrims permitted to go to Mecca this year would be cut in half in order to conserve foreign exchange.

Feb. 10: The Pakistani Foreign Ministry announced that an Indian-Pakistani Ministerial Conference would be held on Feb. 23 to solve the border disputes between West Pakistan and East Punjab.

Feb. 17: Thirteen miners were killed in a coal mine explosion near Quetta.

Feb. 21: The Pakistani government announced a new list of tax and profit concessions and guarantees against nationalization in a bid to attract foreign capital to Pakistan for the industrial development program.

Feb. 23: The US Embassy said that an "agreement in principle" had been reached on the proposed bilateral defense pact between Pakistan and the US.

A communiqué issued in Karachi described the talks between India and Pakistan on two border disputes as "frank and friendly."

Feb. 26: It was reported from Karachi that Pakistan was

prepared to sign a bilateral defense agreement with the US.

Feb. 27: Former Defense Minister Ayub Khuhro was convicted of black market activity and sentenced to five years at hard labor and a fine of \$30,000.

Mar. 1: The Soviet newspaper, *Izvestia*, warned Pakistan against signing a military agreement with the US. The paper charged that such a move would "merely increase the danger of Pakistan's becoming involved in the military adventures of the Pentagon."

Mar. 2: UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld arrived in Karachi for a three-day visit.

Mar. 5: Pakistan signed a new Baghdad Pact agreement.

Palestine Problem

1958

Dec. 16: A UAR Army spokesman charged that Israel was massing troops on the Israeli-Syrian border. He also denied that Syria had committed "aggression" against Israel the previous day.

Dec. 17: A UAR spokesman in Gaza charged that two Israeli jet aircraft flew over Gaza. He announced that the UAR had protested to the UN Mixed Armistice Commission.

Dec. 20: The Israeli Army announced that Israeli fighters battled eight UAR MIG-17's over the Negev. One plane was shot down, it was reported. Israel alleged that the planes had penetrated 25 miles into Israeli territory.

Cairo radio announced that the air battle with Israeli fighters occurred when four Israeli planes intruded into UAR territory over the Sinai desert.

Dec. 21: It was reported that Jordan had barred more than 100 Israeli Christians from crossing the border into Bethlehem to celebrate Christmas.

Dec. 26: Secretary-General Hammarskjöld ended a three-day visit to UNEF bases and UNRWA camps in the Gaza strip.

Dec. 28: It was announced that the Israeli police have detained for questioning eight Israeli Arabs, who said they had been interrogated by Syrian officials about security and economic matters in Israel after having crossed into Syria two months ago.

Dec. 31: Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld arrived in Jerusalem under instructions from the Security Council to try to stop the intermittent clashes along the Israeli-Syrian border.

1959

Jan. 2: Secretary-General Hammarskjöld ended his talks with Premier Ben-Gurion on "ways to prevent further incidents" along Israel's border with Syria.

Jan. 3: The UN Secretary-General discussed UAR-Israeli problems with Premier Samir al-Rifa'i of Jordan in Amman. They also discussed the Arab refugee problem, it was reported.

Jan. 5: Two Arabs were sentenced to life imprisonment by the Israeli government for slaying an Israeli border patrolman in 1956.

Jan. 6: Secretary-General Hammarskjöld consulted in

Cairo with UAR officials on the problem of Israel and the Arab refugees, it was reported.

It was reported from Amman that King Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia had told the UN Secretary-General that "either Palestine refugees could be returned home or the Arab states could declare a 'holy war' to regain their usurped land."

Jan. 8: It was reported from Cairo that six Israeli Mysteres had been intercepted by UAR aircraft over the Sinai desert. An air clash resulted, the report stated.

It was reported from Tel Aviv that four MIG-17's were intercepted by Israeli aircraft southwest of Beersheba. The report said that the Israeli planes "briefly engaged" the aircraft from the UAR.

Jan. 13: The Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israel for a Jan. 8 air clash over Egyptian territory.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry announced that two Americans studying agriculture in Israel were seized by Syrians near the Syrian border. They were questioned and then turned over to the UN observers, the report said.

A Syrian spokesman said two Israeli infiltrators entered the demilitarized zone and were arrested when they tried to seize a herd of cattle.

Jan. 14: The State Department said that it was trying to secure the release of an American, Gary Schwartz, who was jailed in Jordan after having crossed the border from Israel nine days ago.

The Israeli government instructed its Ambassador to Washington, Abba Eban, to take up two violations of the Arab-Israeli armistice agreement with UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld.

Jan. 15: "Reliable sources" said at the UN that Israel and the UAR had agreed to allow stone and concrete markers to be set up along the Israeli-Syrian frontier.

A UAR Army spokesman charged that an Israeli armored boat on the Sea of Galilee had opened fire on Arab villages.

An Israeli Army spokesman said the Syrians had opened machine-gun fire on an Israeli fishing boat and that an Israeli police boat "replied with several bursts."

Jan. 20: It was reported from Cairo that three Canadian soldiers belonging to the UN Emergency Force had been arrested by the UAR in Gaza. The report also said that three Israeli girls, brought across the border with them, had also been arrested.

Jan. 21: The Egyptian police turned over to the UN Emergency Force a Canadian sergeant arrested for illegally crossing the border from Israel, it was reported.

The Israeli government has demanded the return of three girls who crossed the border into Gaza, it was reported. The report said that the three girls had records as prostitutes.

Jan. 23: An Israeli Foreign Ministry official was reported to have said that the US and Britain had assured Israel that their recent moves toward a rapprochement with Cairo would not be at Israel's expense.

Jan. 26: It was reported that an Israeli soldier who wandered near the edge of No-Man's-Land in Jerusalem was shot and killed by the Jordanians.

Jan. 27: An Israeli army spokesman said Syrian soldiers fired on shepherds tending their flocks near the Gonen settlement in Israeli territory. No casualties were reported.

Jan. 29: It was reported from Jerusalem that a Syrian soldier, brooding over the Army's refusal to release him to care for his brother and sister, shot his company commander and fled to Israel.

Jan. 30: Israel complained to the Security Council that "constant attacks" were being made on her territory from Syria. Ambassador Abba Eban urged that "an injunction rigorously binding on Syrian forces" be issued by the UN.

Feb. 4: A communiqué from UN Emergency Force Headquarters in the Gaza strip accused Israel of a border raid by armed Israelis into Gaza territory on Feb. 3. A woman and child were killed, it was reported.

Israeli Army Headquarters acknowledged that an Israeli patrol had entered UAR territory, but explained that the entrance was "inadvertent." The report continued that the Israeli patrol was engaged in a "running fight" with Arab infiltrators.

Feb. 5: UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld said that Palestine truce officials had found no evidence of "infiltration or hot pursuit," as reported by Israel, to justify action by an Israeli patrol on Feb. 3.

Feb. 7: The Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission of the UN found four Israeli soldiers guilty of an unprovoked attack on an unarmed Bedouin family in Egyptian territory. The finding condemned Israel for a "brutal act of aggression."

Feb. 8: Army Headquarters in Tel Aviv announced that an Israeli officer would be court-martialed on charges of having led a patrol into Egypt in pursuit of Arab attackers, it was reported.

Feb. 15: Three Israeli girls were convicted of illegally entering UAR territory by a military court and were sentenced to five years in prison.

Feb. 16: It was reported that Premier Ben-Gurion has rejected a UN proposal for a survey of Israel's border troubles with the UAR. There was no official confirmation of the report.

Secretary-General Hammarskjöld conferred with Ambassador Abba Eban.

Feb. 17: UAR Foreign Minister Fawzi said that the UAR would work "through official channels" to oppose the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe into Israel.

A Lebanese Foreign Ministry source said that Lebanon would approach other Arab countries with a view to adopting a common plan to counter Jewish migration from Eastern Europe to Israel.

Mar. 2: Israel fined an American, Gary Schwartz, 30 Israeli pounds for having left the country without authorization.

Mar. 8: It was reported that UAR President Nasir has accused "international Zionism" of planning to establish an Israeli motherland "stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates."

Mar. 9: Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir said in New York that Israel has no intention of evicting Arab

citizens to make room for Jews migrating to Israel from Eastern Europe.

Mar. 13: It was reported that an Israeli farmer was shot by Syrians firing across the border.

Persian Gulf

1958

Dec. 20: A treaty of amity, economic relations, and consular rights was signed between the Sultan of Muscat and Oman and the US.

1959

Feb. 1: The British announced that the forces of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman have attacked the Jabal Akhdar stronghold of rebel tribesmen and captured three villages.

A spokesman for the Imam of Oman said that ten British troops had been killed and eight wounded in a battle east of Jabal Akhdar.

It was reported that ships and planes were searching for a fishing fleet of 70 vessels that are missing in a severe storm in the Persian Gulf.

Mar. 3: A hurricane lashed the Persian Gulf states.

Saudi Arabia

(See also Palestine Problem)

1958

Dec. 18: UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld announced his intention to visit Saudi Arabia on Jan. 5.

Dec. 20: King Sa'ud appointed Ahmad Jamjum a Minister of State and member of the Council of Ministers.

Dec. 24: Lebanese Foreign Minister Husayn 'Uwayni arrived in Riyadh for discussions with Saudi officials.

Dec. 25: The Monetary Agency announced that it will ease bank rates on Dec. 27 in view of the improved monetary situation.

1959

Jan. 4: The UN Secretary-General arrived in Riyadh.

Jan. 5: King Sa'ud, in discussions with the UN Secretary-General, outlined Saudi Arabia's foreign policy with respect to Algeria, Palestine, Oman and the Buraimi dispute. It was reported that the King said the latter dispute "would be reported to the UN."

Jan. 7: The Japanese government announced plans to establish a diplomatic office in Riyadh.

Jan. 10: The Ministry of Finance ordered all commercial banks to deposit at least 15 percent of their capital with the Monetary Agency.

Jan. 14: The Saudi Arabian budget for 1959 was promulgated by royal decree. Revenue was estimated at SR 1,410 million and expenditures at SR 1,250 million. It was reported that the difference will be devoted to debt retirement.

Jan. 18: It was announced that 'Abd al-Ilah ibn Hasan al-Shaykh, Chief Qadi of the Hijaz, died in Mecca.

Jan. 28: Minister of State for UN Affairs, Ahmad al-Shuqayri, said in Cairo that Saudi Arabia was grateful for "the UAR's stand during the Anglo-Egyptian financial negotiations." He also said that Saudi Arabia

would refuse to establish diplomatic relations with the British until the Buraimi dispute was settled, it was reported.

Sudan

1958

Dec. 17: It was reported that Ahmad al-Shaykh, Secretary-General of the Sudanese Workers Federation, was arrested with 11 others on a charge of holding an illegal meeting.

Dec. 18: Brig. Muhammad Ahmad Irwa was appointed Minister of Commerce, succeeding 'Abd al-Majid Ahmad, who is also Minister of Finance.

Dec. 23: It was announced in Khartoum that the government had accepted a West German offer to build a two-million-dollar sugar refinery in the Sudan.

Dec. 26: The Sudan signed a barter agreement with Poland for the exchange of Sudanese cotton for Polish manufactured goods.

1959

Jan. 1: The Third Anniversary of the Sudan's independence was celebrated.

Jan. 3: Britain announced that up to \$14 million in export credits would be granted the Sudan.

Jan. 12: The West German Foreign Ministry announced that West Germany is ready to negotiate a loan to the Sudan for industrial development.

Feb. 9: Dr. Amin al-Sayyid, former Minister of Health and later Speaker of the Senate, died.

Feb. 12: President Tito arrived in Khartoum for a seven-day visit as the guest of the Sudanese government.

Feb. 17: A joint communiqué issued by President Tito and President Ibrahim 'Abbud announced that Yugoslavia would grant the Sudan credits to finance industrial projects and to purchase machinery and cargo vessels.

Mar. 4: Lieut. Gen. Ibrahim 'Abbud dismissed the twelve members of the Supreme Council and assumed full governmental powers himself. He broadcast to the nation asking the country to "remain calm."

Mar. 5: A new Supreme Military Council was appointed to succeed the one that resigned. The members of the Council include Lieut. Gen. Ibrahim 'Abbud; Maj. Gen. Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahhab; Maj. Gen. Muhammad Tal'at Farid; Brig. Ahmad 'Abdallah Pamid; Brig. Ahmad Rida Farid; Brig. Hassan Bashir; Brig. Muhammad Ahmad Irwa; Brig. Ahmad Mahgub al-Bahari; Brig. 'Abd al-Rahim Shinan; Brig. Amin Haj; and Brig. Ahmad 'Abdullah.

Mar. 9: Maj. Gen. Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahhab was relieved of his duties, it was announced.

Tunisia

(See also Algeria, Libya)

1958

Dec. 23: Tunisia's High Court sentenced to death nine men for allegedly plotting to assassinate President Bourguiba. Fifty-seven persons were tried.

Dec. 29: President Bourguiba committed to life impris-

onment the death sentences of five men convicted of plotting against his life.

Dec. 30: President Bourguiba appointed five new members of his Cabinet. They are:

Hadi Kefacha—Justice

Ahmad Mesteri—Finance and Commerce

'Abd al-Salam Kenani—Agriculture

Ahmad Nur al-Din—Public Works

Muhammad Masmoudi—Information

Tunisia officially announced the "unpegging" of the Tunisian Dinar to the French franc.

1959

Jan. 11: The Tunisian government suspended all transfers of capital from Tunisia to France.

Jan. 13: The Ministry of Information announced the arrival in Bizerte of a cargo of US arms.

Jan. 15: President Bourguiba, in his weekly radio address to the nation, attacked France for having devaluated the franc. He said that the French-Tunisian customs union had "practically ceased to exist." He added that "we no longer have any reason to remain vassals of France in the economic field."

Feb. 4: Tunisian "sources" reported that eight French civil servants in Tunisia had been arrested. No explanation was given.

Feb. 7: A forty-ton shipment of US small arms and ammunition was unloaded in Tunis.

Feb. 10: Muhammad Masmoudi, Information Minister, accused a French Army unit of shelling a Tunisian frontier village killing one person and wounding several others.

French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville protested against the suicide of a French communications worker arrested in Tunisia for alleged espionage activities on behalf of France.

Feb. 11: The Ministry of Information announced that all French employees in Tunisia's postal-telephone-telegraph service would be dismissed.

The Tunisian government said that "it would not consider any intervention by France" on behalf of French employees in Tunisia arrested for espionage activities. The government charged that the employees had "tapped telephone lines into President Bourguiba's office."

Feb. 12: President Bourguiba charged that French consular officials had used their diplomatic immunity to shelter a spy ring in Tunisia.

Feb. 13: The French Foreign Minister reported to the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee on the "progressive deterioration" of relations with Tunisia.

Feb. 16: The Tunisian government officially mourned the deaths of four persons allegedly killed by a French attack on a border village.

Feb. 23: Muhammad Salah Zali, former Tunisian Premier under the French Protectorate, will go on trial for treason, it was announced in Tunis.

Feb. 24: It was reported that President Bourguiba has threatened to end instruction in French in Tunisian schools.

Feb. 27: The Tunisian High Court sentenced former

Premier Muhammad Salah Zali to ten years' imprisonment for allegedly collaborating with the French during the French Protectorate.

Mar. 2: President Bourguiba urged the West to "give up colonialism" in an address before the Neo-Destour Party.

Mar. 3: President Bourguiba was re-elected President of the Neo-Destour Party. It was reported that he declined the Presidency for life.

Turkey

(See also General, Cyprus, Iran)

1958

Dec. 20: A special press court sentenced Yusuf Ziya Ademhan, Chief Editor of *Akis*, to 16 months in prison for publishing articles allegedly "insulting" to Premier Menderes. The publication was ordered closed for one month.

1959

Jan. 6: It was reported that 14 persons were killed in an explosion that destroyed two newspaper plants in Istanbul.

Jan. 7: An explosion that wrecked several buildings in Istanbul was caused by TNT stored in a mining company office, it was reported.

Jan. 12: Former President Ismet Inönü, leader of the People's Republican Party, appealed to all opposition forces to "join hands" to restore "political security" in Turkey.

Jan. 22: A special court sentenced two editors of the opposition paper *Ulus* to prison and ordered the paper suspended for two months for having printed articles "offensive" to the government.

Jan. 23: It was reported that a US-Turkish agreement under which the US would intervene in controversies between Turkey and American companies establishing plants there was under "heavy debate" in the Parliament.

It was reported that 50 persons were killed in a theater cave-in in Kucuk Yali.

Jan. 28: It was announced in Istanbul that Turkish Treasury agents had cracked a ring that smuggled abroad up to 300,000,000 Turkish lira a year.

Feb. 2: Talks began in Ankara between the World Bank and Turkish officials on the "status" of the Turkish economy. It was rumored that talks could lead to a new loan.

Adm. Arthur W. Radford and George C. McGhee arrived in Istanbul. They plan to go to Ankara for a round of conferences on US economic aid to Turkey, it was reported.

Feb. 4: The West German government stopped all payment of financial aid to Turkey. Reports indicated that West Germany wanted Turkish assurances that German property seized in World War II would be returned and that more German ships would be used in the delivery of German goods to Turkey.

Feb. 17: Premier Adnan Menderes was one of ten survivors in the crash of a Turkish turbo-prop airliner

outside of London. Menderes and other Turkish officials were on their way to the London Conference on Cyprus. Twelve persons were killed including the Turkish Minister of Press and Broadcasting and one member of the Turkish Parliament.

Feb. 18: Members of the Parliament voted an increase in their salaries, it was reported.

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan expressed "deep regret" in the House of Commons over the plane crash that injured Turkish Premier Menderes and killed 12 others.

Feb. 24: Premier Menderes invited a young British farm family that aided him when he was injured in an air crash to visit Turkey as his personal guests.

Feb. 25: Turkish Deputies in Parliament "came to blows" over a debate on the 1959 budget, it was reported. The session was suspended twice.

Mar. 3: Three newsmen were jailed in Manisa for having published a poem entitled "What has the Republican People's Party done?"

United Arab Republic

(See also General, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine Problem, Saudi Arabia)

1958

Dec. 19: It was reported that President Nasir has warned Iraq of the dangers of communism in a speech before a Syrian economic delegation. He also urged the Arabs to stand together in "the face of this alien philosophy," it was reported.

Dec. 23: President Nasir "accused" Syrian Communists of being enemies of Arab nationalism and of attempting to break up the Egyptian-Syrian union. He announced appointment of a three-man "reform committee" to cope with the communist problem in Syria.

It was reported that a Franco-UAR barter agreement was signed in Cairo on Dec. 21, calling for an exchange of \$3.6 million worth of goods.

Dec. 24: The US and the UAR reached accord on the resumption of US shipments of wheat to Egypt. The shipments were suspended during the Suez crisis.

Dec. 26: Syrian Interior Minister 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sarraj said that Communists in Syria had become "mouthpieces for the enemies of Arab nationalism."

Dec. 27: It was reported that the UAR had closed the Syrian Communist newspaper, *al-Nur*, and had shut Soviet cultural offices in some Syrian provinces.

Dec. 28: Khalid Bagdash, Syrian Communist leader, has secretly fled Syria, it was reported.

Dec. 30: It was announced that Italian Premier Fanfani would go to Cairo "in a few days" for talks with President Nasir.

Eugene Black of the World Bank conferred with British officials in London in preparation for a mediation mission to Cairo on the UAR-British financial disputes that resulted from the Suez crisis in 1956.

1959

Jan. 1: An "authoritative source" said that a new round-up of suspected Communists had begun in Egypt, it was reported.

Eugene Black arrived in Cairo and opened discussions with UAR officials on a possible financial settlement with Britain.

Jan. 3: Lebanese Premier Rashid Karami left Beirut for Cairo on an official visit.

Jan. 4: It was announced in Jakarta, Indonesia, that President Nasir would visit Indonesia in 1959.

Jan. 6: Italian Premier Fanfani arrived in Cairo. It was reported that he "will attempt to explain Western attitudes and aspirations" to the UAR President.

President Otto Grotewohl conferred with President Nasir in Cairo.

Jan. 7: President Grotewohl announced in Cairo that his government and the UAR would establish consular relations.

Jan. 8: It was announced that Premier Fanfani had negotiated trade agreements with the UAR.

West Germany instructed its Ambassador at Cairo to ask President Nasir for "immediate clarification" of its decision to establish consular relations with East Germany.

Jan. 9: It was announced in Cairo that Britain and the UAR will resume talks on financial problems that arose from the Suez crisis.

Jan. 10: West German Ambassador Walther Becker conferred for three hours with President Nasir.

Jan. 12: Britain and the UAR formally opened negotiations designed to lead to a possible settlement of their financial differences.

Jan. 14: Fernando Castiella, Spanish Foreign Minister, left Madrid for Cairo on an eight-day visit.

A spokesman for the West German government that President Nasir had assured West Germany that the establishment of consular relations with "the so-called German Democratic Republic" did not imply diplomatic recognition.

It was reported that Britain and the UAR had come to an agreement on financial problems.

Jan. 15: Amin Mahmud, an Egyptian school headmaster, was hanged in Cairo for "spying" for Britain in 1957.

Jan. 17: Britain and the UAR initiated a detailed agreement on outstanding financial problems. The terms were not made public.

Jan. 21: President Nasir said in an interview that despite his recent crackdown on Communists in the UAR, his government would still seek trade with the Soviet bloc.

Jan. 22: It was reported that the formal signing of the UAR-British agreement was being held up by UAR objections to the "diplomatic rights" demanded by Britain for personnel who are to supervise implementation of the agreement.

Jan. 23: It was reported that three new Soviet submarines had arrived in Alexandria.

Jan. 26: The Ministry of Education closed three Roman Catholic schools. The schools were closed, it was reported, because their "curriculum did not truly reflect Arab trends in history."

Jan. 27: Premier Khrushchev warned "unidentified officials" of the UAR not to persecute Communists. He was reported to have said that Communists were "the

most steadfast supporters of the Arabs against imperialism."

The Ministry of Education said that the three religious schools closed by the Ministry would be reopened as soon "as offending textbooks can be replaced" and faculties questioned.

Jan. 30: It was reported that British-UAR negotiations on financial problems had developed a new dispute over which British assets were seized permanently and which were seized temporarily by Egypt during the Suez crisis.

Feb. 5: US Ambassador Raymond Hare conferred with President Nasir.

Feb. 20: President Tito arrived in Cairo on a state visit.

Feb. 21: President Nasir revealed that he and Soviet Premier Khrushchev had exchanged correspondence "renewing their pledges of friendship and cooperation."

Feb. 22: Eugene Black of the World Bank arrived in Cairo to make a new attempt to iron out differences between Britain and the UAR in current financial negotiations, it was reported.

President Nasir and President Tito visited Damascus.

Feb. 24: It was reported that President Nasir may meet with Premier al-Qasim of Iraq to "settle their differences."

Feb. 28: It was announced in Cairo that Britain and the UAR had resolved their "misunderstandings" and that the financial agreement would be signed.

Mar. 2: It was reported from Cairo that Britain and the UAR had agreed to waive all claims for war damages against each other arising from the British-French attack of 1956.

Mar. 14: President Nasir said in Syria that "when there is a Communist Party, it operates under the word 'democracy,' and when this succeeds, it works for the Red dictatorship."

Egypt

1958

Dec. 18: It was announced that Egypt had reached an agreement with the Shell Oil Company and other Anglo-Egyptian Companies for the settlement of all outstanding questions. Shell properties in Egypt were sequestered after the Suez Canal was nationalized in 1956.

Dec. 22: It was reported that a West German industrial group had offered Egypt \$48 million for the Aswan Dam project.

Dec. 29: The Egyptian government granted an Italian-Egyptian oil company new concessions for oil prospecting during the next thirteen years in the Sinai Desert.

It was reported from Bonn that West Germany "was reconsidering" its possible participation in the Aswan Dam project.

1959

Mar. 6: It was reported that Egypt is planning a "vast oasis project for the Western desert."

Syria**1958**

Dec. 29: It was reported that "every Communist Party member" in Syria was either under arrest or being sought. The report indicated that "hundreds" had been arrested.

1959

Jan. 3: A three-man mission arrived in Damascus from Cairo for an "indefinite stay" to speed development projects in the Syrian region, it was reported.

Jan. 6: It was announced that the Ministry of Agrarian Reform in Syria had issued a decree confiscating about 35,000 acres of land from thirty-nine Syrian landowners.

Jan. 12: A State Security Court in Aleppo has sentenced fifteen members of the outlawed Syrian Social Nationalist Party to prison terms, it was reported.

Jan. 13: It was announced in Damascus that a new harbor and oil pipeline terminal for Syrian oil will be built at Tartus.

Feb. 1: The first anniversary of the Syrian-Egyptian union was celebrated throughout Syria.

Yemen

(See also Aden)

1959

Jan. 19: The State Department announced that the US would send Yemen 15,000 tons of wheat, flour, and animal foodstuffs to relieve a severe drought in that country.

Jan. 28: An agreement for the shipment of US grain to Yemen was signed in Washington.

Feb. 15: It was reported that the first shipment of a Soviet gift of wheat to Yemen left Russia for Yemen.

DOCUMENTS

Russian - Iranian Treaty of

August 11, 1957

Hydro-economic agreements have from the start been used by the Soviets to court the friendship of neighbors. With Persia such arrangements were made as early as 1921 and 1926. The 1957 agreement on joint utilization for irrigation and power of the Aras and the Atrak was part of the peace offensive which included the Shah's visit to Moscow in 1956. Piqued references to this agreement by the Soviets in recent months betray their disappointment that this agreement, and other friendly overtures, failed to wean Iran from its alliance with the United States. The 1957 agreement actually benefits the U.S.S.R. at least as much as Iran. Reportedly it may result in the irrigation of 62,500 hectares in the Azerbaydzhian S.S.R., and a similar area in Iran, from the Aras; and of 17,500 hectares' irrigation in Turkmenistan and in Iran from the Atrak. The schemes fit in with extensive Soviet development plans for their Transcaucasian and Central Asian territories.

—Abraham M. Hirsch

Preamble to the

Agreement between the Imperial Government of Iran and the Government of U.S.S.R. concerning the preparation of preliminary plans for the joint and equal utilization of the frontier parts of the rivers Aras and Atrak for irrigation and power generation.

The Imperial Government of Iran and the Government of Soviet Russia, signatories to this agreement, taking cognizance of the friendly relations existing between the two countries and feeling inclined to strengthen these relations more than before, do hereby covenant to utilize their respective equal rights of fifty percent of all water and power re-

sources of the frontier parts of the rivers Aras and Atrak for irrigation, power generation and domestic use and, to this end, agree to joint enterprises as cited thereunder:

Article 1

The parties, hereto, agree that the utilization of the above fifty percent right on the part of each will require separate and independent diversion and transmission of water and power in each party's territory, in accordance with the provisions of a general preliminary project prepared for the joint utilization of the rivers and mutually agreed upon. If the activities of one of the parties in utilizing its fifty percent of all resources are slower than those of the other, this fact shall not deprive that party of its right of utilizing all its share.

Article 2

Both parties, hereto, agree to jointly carry out exploration of the rivers Aras and Atrak all along the border common to the U.S.S.R. and Iran and accumulate technical data related to their respective flows. They also agree to carry out necessary outdoor and indoor studies for the preparation of preliminary plans for irrigation and power generation from the strait of Ghis Ghalasi up to the end of the frontier of river Aras (map attached) and all frontier parts of the Atrak River.

Article 3

Taking into consideration the desire of the two parties for an early commencement of the work herein agreed upon, it is further agreed that within three months of the date of signing of this agreement, composite groups shall be appointed to commence exploratory work and upon its completion, composite survey teams shall be named by the respective parties to carry out survey works in the field in respect to joint establishments. These teams shall carry out the survey works in accordance with the schedule attached to this agreement and shall report to the parties concerned, once every three months,

on matters of topography, geology, hydrology, economics and all other matters pertinent to this agreement.

Article 4

The shores of the rivers Aras and Atrak as mentioned in the articles above, will be jointly explored on both sides by three composite groups, each comprising four experts and one interpreter from each party. For the exploration of the river Aras two composite groups and on the river Atrak one such group will carry out the operations. Each host group will provide the guest members of the composite exploratory and field survey groups, as mentioned in Article 3 above, with transportation and other requisites for subsistence in the host country. The host group will also provide all facilities required for the progress of their operations.

Article 5

Studies and clerical work on the preliminary plans for establishments that are of mutual interest (diversion dams and reservoirs for both rivers) will be carried out in Russian territory by the U.S.S.R. party with the participation of the Iranian experts. The Iranian party will send ten experts to Soviet Russia at its own expense to take part in the said works.

Article 6

Outdoor and indoor studies and work on the preliminary plans for establishments located in the two territories shall be carried out by the party concerned in its territory and the exchange of necessary technical information shall be made in accordance with the program and its appendices agreed upon by the expert missions of the two parties.

Article 7

Baltic will be the starting point of the altitude, and joint specification materials will be used for all matters of topography and geodesy relating to the preparation of preliminary plans. Arrangements for the shifting of altitudes and other specifications shall be made in accordance with the progress agreed upon by the expert missions of the two parties.

Article 8

In order to ensure the accomplishment of joint exploratory and field survey works to be undertaken as provided in Article 4 above, the two parties agree to offer the participants in these works, the right of repeated crossing of the frontier for the period that these activities will be in operation. To this end, each party will provide the frontier guards of the other party, advance information about the persons required to cross the frontier on various occasions to enable the host country to perform necessary formalities.

Article 9

Preliminary plans for the joint establishments, to be prepared in accordance with Article 5 above, will be codified in Russian and in English by the U.S.S.R. party and the English copy will be submitted to the Iranian party. Thereafter, within a month, the two parties shall meet in Tehran to discuss preliminary plans, consider probable changes, make decisions and, if agreed to by both parties, arrange and decide upon the time when subsequent works should be completed.

Article 10

The program of exploratory activities and works related to the preparation of preliminary plans and its appendices are being prepared and will be signed by the expert missions of the two parties and, after approval by competent authorities of both parties, shall form integral parts of this agreement at the earliest time. If, for some reason, one of the parties fails to provide, during the time limit prescribed, the technical data stipulated in the program and its appendices, it must notify the other party one month before the expiration of the time-limit and ask for the required extension.

Article 11

This agreement has been prepared in Tehran on the 20th of Mordad 1336 corresponding to August 11, 1957, in Farsi and in Russian and both shall be equally authentic.

For the Imperial Government of Iran For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Minister of Agriculture of the Imperial Government of Iran

Ambassador and Envoy Extraordinary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in Iran

The Constitution of the Arab Resurrection

(Ba'th) Socialist Party of Syria*

Were the following document a constitution in the usual sense of the term there might be little value in its present publication, for all Syrian political parties have been nominally abolished or merged into a single National Union similar to the constitutionally established Egyptian model. The constitution of the *Ba'th* party is in reality its program; and since the union of Syria and Egypt is in large part the result of the efforts of the *Ba'th* leadership, that program is of contemporary interest. In the opinion of the translator, the Syro-Egyptian union, given the prominent role Ba'thists play in the UAR regime, cannot be fully explained without reference to the political ideas of the *Ba'th* leadership.

The *Ba'th* program is similar in many ways to the current policies of the Egyptian government, especially in regard to its emphasis upon Arabism, anti-imperialism, land reform, expropriation of foreign enterprises, increased governmental responsibility for social welfare and education, and emphasis upon enhancing the national awareness of the masses. The *Ba'th* goes somewhat further than the Egyptian government in its program for the redistribution of the national wealth and nationalization of all important enterprises. Greater stress is also placed upon drawing up a comprehensive economic plan and, understandably, upon the problem of settling the bedouin. The establishment of a single bank of issue and credit is also con-

trary to current Egyptian practice. On the other hand the labor policies of the Egyptian government would seem to coincide, more or less, with the *Ba'th* proposals.

The text of the *Ba'th* constitution may also be helpful in elucidating current questions as to how democratic and how socialistic are contemporary Arab parties of radical reform. It will be readily seen that the *Ba'th* insists upon the institutions of Western parliamentary democracy, but would subordinate democracy and civil rights to an undefined national interest and a loosely described national ideology. The central aspects of this ideology rest upon the dubious historicity of repeated Arab awakenings, the right of the nation to statehood, and the Hegelian teleology of the nation (and the individual through the nation) fulfilling its highest potentialities and revealing its true character as a state, and therefore as a real participant in the historical process. To be noted also is the absence of any reference to Islam, although there is a single mention of the 'ulama.

As for *Ba'thi* socialism, there can be no doubt that the constitution contains many far reaching reforms and may even be, as claimed, a revolutionary program. On the other hand, there are several indications that the most that is contemplated is a middle class revolution. Indications of this sort emerge from the provisions guaranteeing the rights of property and inheritance, from the limited restrictions on small business, from the absence of any reference to cooperative agricultural enterprises and the limits placed on land redistribution, from the emphasis upon the elimination of class distinctions but not classes themselves, and from the emphasis upon the importance of intellectual pursuits. It appears that this is the program of a *petit bourgeois* leadership of an urban movement with some lower class support.

The text of the document tells us little about the organization of the party, and the final provision concerning the amendment of the constitution merely confounds confusion. Evidently there must have been at least an executive committee, a somewhat more numerous council, and a body of rank and file members. The division of authority among these three groups and their mutual responsibilities are no-

*The commentary on and translation of the Constitution are by Leonard Binder, of the Political Science Department, the University of California at Los Angeles.

where discussed. The final provision is either very badly misstated, or it may be that it is in any case irrelevant since the leadership was in all probability self-appointed and irresponsible and since there was no formally enrolled rank and file membership outside of a handful of militants. However this may be, what follows is the ideological rationalization for the action of a small group of urban middle class Arabs who, with the aid of younger military élite, have determined the future course of Syrian history.

The Constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party

A United Arab Nation
With an Eternal Mission

The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party
A national, populist, revolutionary Movement
which strives to achieve Arab unity, liberty,
and socialism

The Constitution
Fundamental Principles

The first principle: The unity and freedom of the Arab nation.

The Arabs are a single nation, having a natural right to exist within a single state and to be free to realize all its potentialities.

To these ends the Arab Resurrection Socialist party declares:

1. The Arab homeland is an indivisible politico-economic unit. It is impossible for any of the Arab regions to perfect the conditions of its life in isolation from the rest.

2. The Arab nation is a cultural unit. All of the differences among its members are artificial accidents which will cease to exist as a consequence of the awakening of Arab consciousness.

3. The Arab homeland belongs to the Arabs. They alone have the right to utilize its resources and its wealth, and to control its potentialities.
The second principle: The special character of the Arab nation.

The Arab nation is distinguished by its special merit, revealed in its repeated awakenings; it is marked by the abundance of its vitality and inventiveness, and its tendency toward reform and resurgence. Its resurgence is ever

related to the growth of individual freedom and the (extension of the) scope of harmony between individual freedom and the national interest.

Therefore, the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party declares that:

1. Freedom of speech, of association, of belief, and of science are sacred, and may not be limited by any government whatsoever.

2. The value of members of the nation is to be assessed—after they have been granted an adequate opportunity—exclusively on the basis of their efforts on behalf of the Arab nation and its efflorescence.

3. The third principle: The mission of the Arab nation.

The Arab nation is characterized by an eternal mission which manifests itself in the form of a complete regeneration through the stages of history, leading to the reformation of human existence, the advancement of human progress, and the enhancement of harmony and cooperation among nations.

Therefore, the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party declares that:

1. Colonialism and everything connected therewith is an evil which will be opposed by the Arabs by every possible means. They will make continuous and substantial efforts, within their capacity, to aid all peoples who are striving for freedom.

2. All humanity is mutually responsible for its common welfare, and collectively responsible for its protection and civilization. The Arabs benefit from world civilization, and they contribute to it in turn. The Arabs will extend a brotherly hand to the other nations and will cooperate with them in bringing about the rule of justice, guaranteeing to all peoples peace, well-being, and moral and spiritual elevation.

General Provisions

Article 1. The party is a universal Arab party, branches of which will be established in all the rest of the Arab regions. It will not pursue a regional policy, except out of regard for the higher Arab interest.

Article 2. The general headquarters of the party is in the district of Damascus, but it may

be transferred to any other Arab country if the national interest so determines.

Article 3. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party is nationalist, holding that nationalism has a truly permanent existence, and that the conscious feeling of nationalism which firmly ties the individual to his nation is a sacred sentiment, full of creative power, encouraging sacrifice, reawakening the sense of responsibility, and striving to channel the individual personality purposefully, efficiently and gloriously.

The nationalist idea which the party preaches is the will of the Arab people to be free and united; that the Arab people be given an opportunity to realize the Arab character in history; and that it cooperate with the rest of the nations on whatever will assure humanity's unswerving progress toward goodness and well-being.

Article 4. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party is socialist, believing that socialism is necessarily derived from genuine Arab nationalism because it is the exemplary system which will permit the Arab people to realize its own potentialities. Socialism will cause the Arab genius to unfold in the most complete manner. Socialism will guarantee the continuous growth of the nation in its spiritual and material development; and it will guarantee close fraternization among its individual members.

Article 5. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party is populist, believing that dominion belongs to the people, that they alone are the origin of all government and leadership, and that the value of the state derives from the will of the masses, even as its sanctity is in proportion to the extent of their freedom in choosing the government. Therefore the party depends upon the people for the accomplishment of its mission, and endeavors to tie itself closely to the people, and to raise their intellectual, moral, economic, and hygienic levels in order to increase their sense of individuality and to increase the exercise of their rights in the individualistic (sphere) of national life.

Article 6. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party is revolutionary, believing that its principal goals of reawakening Arab nationalism and building socialism cannot be achieved except by revolution and strife. The party believes

that dependence upon gradual change and contentment with superficial (because) partial amelioration will defeat these ends (through faintheartedness and loss of opportunities). Therefore the party decides to:

- a) struggle against foreign colonialism in order to achieve absolute freedom for the Arab homeland;
- b) struggle to achieve a union of Arabs in a single independent state;
- c) rebel against existing evils affecting all intellectual, economic, social and political aspects of life.

Article 7. The Arab national homeland is that part of the earth inhabited by the Arab people and which lies between the Taurus mountains, the Zagros mountains, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the mountains of Ethiopia, the Sahara desert, the Atlas range and the Mediterranean Sea.

Article 8. The official language of the state and the language of its people, authorized for publication and instruction, is the Arabic language.

Article 9. The subjects of the Arab State are the subjects of the Arab revolt which was begun in the year 1916 for the purpose of freeing and uniting the Arab people.

Article 10. An Arab is anyone whose language is Arabic, who lives in the Arab homeland or aspires to live therein, and who believes in his connection with the Arab people.

Article 11. Whoever agitates on behalf of or is connected with a racial group opposed to the Arabs, or whoever immigrates into the Arab homeland, for the purpose of colonization, will be expelled from the Arab homeland.

Article 12. Arab women will enjoy all the rights of citizenship. The party will strive to raise the status of women so that they become worthy of these rights.

Article 13. In order that the citizens demonstrate their abilities in their true light and to their fullest extent in all fields of human activity, a true beginning is to be made with the equalization of educational and economic opportunity.

Program

The Domestic Policy of the Party
Article 14. The system of government in the

Arab state will be representative and constitutional. The executive authority will be responsible to the legislative authority, which is to be directly elected by the people.

Article 15. The national tie will be the sole (social) bond existing in the Arab state. It will guarantee harmony among the citizens and it will guarantee their fusion in the crucible of a single nationality. It will combat all other denominational, factional, tribal, parochial or regional loyalties.

Article 16. The system of administration in the Arab state will be decentralized.

Article 17. The party will strive to make the populist spirit prevail, and to make it a living reality in the life of the individual. The party will strive to enact a constitution for the state which will guarantee absolute equality before the law to Arab citizens; which will guarantee the complete freedom of the expression of their will and the choice of their representatives in honest elections; thus organizing for them a life of freedom within the limits of the laws.

Article 18. A single legislative code, in harmony with the spirit of the contemporary period and based upon the experience of the Arab nation in the past, will be enacted for the Arab state in complete freedom.

Article 19. The judicial authority will be protected from and independent of every other authority and it will enjoy complete immunity.

Article 20. Full rights of citizenship will be bestowed upon every citizen living in the Arab homeland who identifies himself solely with the Arab homeland and disassociates himself from every racial group.

Article 21. Military service will be compulsory in the Arab homeland.

The Foreign Policy of the Party

Article 22. The foreign policy of the Arab state will be inspired by the Arab national interest and the eternal Arab mission, and it will be aimed at cooperation with other nations in improving the harmony, freedom, faith, and righteousness of the world and its continuous progress.

Article 23. The Arabs will struggle with all their power to undermine the supports of colonialism and foreign occupation and all foreign

political or economic influence in their country.

Article 24. When the Arab people alone become the source of all authority, all treaties, agreements and conventions made by the present governments which infringe upon the absolute sovereignty of the Arabs will be abrogated.

Article 25. The Arab foreign policy will be revealed to have received its correct form from the will of the Arabs to live in freedom, and from their desire to see all other nations similarly enjoying freedom.

The Economic Policy of the Party

Article 26. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party is socialist, believing that the economic wealth of the homeland is the property of the nation.

Article 27. The distribution of immovable (landed) property in the Arab homeland is unjust, and therefore, this distribution will be reexamined and (such property) will be redistributed among the citizens on a just basis.

Article 28. All citizens are to be recognized as equal in their capacity as human beings; therefore the party will prevent the exploitation of the labor of others.

Article 29. Public utilities, enterprises based on great natural resources, large-scale industries, and means of transport are the property of the nation to be administered directly by the state. All (relevant) foreign companies and concessions are to be abolished.

Article 30. Agricultural ownership will be limited in accordance with the capacity of the owner for proper exploitation and within the framework of the general economic plan, rather than (as presently regulated by) the exploitation of the labor of others by the dignitaries of the state.

Article 31. The ownership of small industries will be regulated in accordance with the economic level enjoyed by the rest of the citizens of the state.

Article 32. The workers will be associated with the administration of (their) factory, and the sum of their wages will be determined by the state in a proportion, also to be determined by the state, to the value of their work.

Article 33. The ownership of real property

in buildings will be permitted to all citizens, provided that they will not have the right to rent it out nor to exploit it at the expense of others; moreover the government will guarantee a minimum of real property to all citizens.

Article 34. Ownership and inheritance are natural and protected rights within the limits of the national interest.

Article 35. Lending at interest among the citizens will be abolished, and a single bank will be established which will issue banknotes guaranteed by national production, and which will supply (credit) to essential agricultural and industrial enterprises.

Article 36. The state will supervise domestic and foreign commerce directly in order to eliminate exploitation between producer and consumer, to protect them both, to protect national production from the competition of foreign production, and to maintain a balance between exports and imports.

Article 37. A comprehensive plan will be drawn up in the light of experience and on the basis of economic theory for the purpose of industrializing the Arab homeland, increasing national production, opening new (economic) horizons to it, and in order to direct the economy in all spheres in accordance with its capacity and in order to fulfill desired priorities.

The Social Policy of the Party

Article 38. The family, children, and marriage:

a) The family is the basic unit of the nation; its protection, development and welfare are responsibilities devolving upon the state.

b) Children are first the responsibility of the family and secondly of the state. It is incumbent upon both to strive to increase their number and to care for their health and education.

c) Marriage is essential to the nation; its encouragement, facilitation and regulation is the duty of the state.

Article 39. Public health: The state will establish, at its own expense, institutions of preventive medicine, clinics and dispensaries which will supply the needs of all the citizens in accordance with the highest standards, and which will guarantee scrupulous medical treatment to them.

Article 40. Labor:

a) Work is to be required of all who are capable of it, and the state will guarantee either intellectual or physical employment to all citizens.

b) The product of labor must guarantee its producer—at least—a proper standard of living.

c) The state will provide for the subsistence of invalids out of the total national product.

d) Just labor legislation will be enacted, limiting the daily hours of the worker, granting him weekly and annual paid vacations, safeguarding his rights, guaranteeing him old age insurance, and compensating partial or complete unemployment (occurring) during the course of work.

e) Free syndicates will be organized for workers and peasants. These syndicates will be encouraged to become beneficial instruments for defending their rights, raising their standards (of living), looking after their needs, increasing their opportunities, creating a spirit of mutual responsibility among them, and representing them in the high labor tribunal.

f) A tribunal specifically concerned with labor will be organized, in which the state and the worker and peasant syndicates will be represented, and which will decide in cases of disputes occurring among the latter (the syndicates), management, and the representatives of the state.

Article 41. The culture of the public:

a) The party will strive to create a general culture for the Arab homeland which will be nationalist, Arab, free, progressive, comprehensive, profound, and humane in its goals, and the party will cause it to prevail among all sections of the people.

b) The state will be responsible for protecting the freedoms of speech, publishing, association, protest, and of the press within the limits of the higher interest of the Arab nation; and the state will be responsible for promoting all instrumentalities which may assure these freedoms.

c) Intellectual work is of the most sacred kind of labor, and it will be incumbent upon the state to protect intellectuals and 'ulama and to encourage them.

d) There will be freedom—within the limits of Arab nationalist ideology—in the establishment of clubs, the formation of associations, parties, popular organizations, and institutions for travel, and in utilizing the benefits of the cinema, of broadcasting and television, and all the means of modern civilization for diffusing the national culture and improving the lot of the people.

Article 42. Manifestations and distinctions of class resulting in corrupted social conditions will be abolished. To that end the party will struggle in the ranks of the oppressed toiling classes of the public until such manifestation and distinction cease, until their full human dignity is restored to them, and until they will be enabled to live under a just social order without discrimination between one citizen and another except in the adequacy of the intellect and the skill of the hand.

Article 43. Nomadism:

Nomadism is a primitive social state which weakens national productivity and renders a large part of the nation a paralyzed limb, hindering its growth and progress.

The party will strive to settle the bedouin and to grant them lands; and the party will strive to abolish the tribal system and the adaptation of the laws of the state thereto.

*The Educational and Instructional Policy
of the Party*

The educational policy of the party will be aimed at the creation of a new generation of Arabs which will believe in the unity of its nation and the permanence of its mission, which

will seize hold of scientific thought free of the fetters of superstition and retrograde authority, which will be filled with the spirit of optimism and mutual responsibility with their fellow citizens in striving for a true, universal, Arab revolution and for human progress.

To this end the party decides that:

Article 44. Every manifestation of intellectual, economic, political, cultural, and artistic life will be stamped with the impress of Arab nationalism to remind the nation of its connection with its glorious history, and to direct it to advance toward a more glorious and exemplary future.

Article 45. Education is the function of the government alone; therefore all private or foreign institutions of learning will be abolished.

Article 46. Education, at all levels, will be free for all citizens, and compulsory in the primary and secondary levels.

Article 47. Higher professional schools will be established along the most modern lines, and instruction therein will be free.

Article 48. The teaching profession and all functions related thereto, except higher education, will be restricted to Arab nationals.

Amendment of the Constitution

Special article: The fundamental and general principles may not be amended. The remaining articles of the constitution may be amended on the agreement of one-third of the members of the council of the party after prior proposal by the executive committee, or by one-fourth of the members of the council or by one-tenth of the members of the general organization.

BOOK REVIEWS

ON A WORK OF J. PIRENNE

Sati' El-Husri

THE famous Belgian historian, Jacques Pirenne, has published a monumental work in seven volumes, with a total of 4726 pages: *Les Grands Courants de l'Histoire Universelle*. (Neuchatel).

The first of these volumes appeared in 1944, but the seventh not until the end of 1956. I have studied the last two volumes of this work (in 795 and 957 pages, respectively) with great attention and interest, in order to inform myself as to what there might be in them concerning events and trends in the Arab world; I have been struck by the number and the magnitude of the errors and inaccuracies which I found there.

Since it is not possible to enumerate and correct all these inaccuracies in this article, I will content myself with citing some typical examples.

* * *

First of all, a series of errors in fact which demonstrate both the insufficiency and the imperfection of the author's documentation:

1. Jacques Pirenne confuses King 'Abdallah of Jordan with Prince 'Abd al-Ilah of Iraq. Concerning the Rashid 'Ali revolt, he writes the following:

"Vint la guerre et la révolte d'Irak. L'Angleterre, après l'avoir réduite (1943), y installa comme régent du roi mineur Fayçal II, le fidèle Abdallah de Jordanie"** (VII-p. 612).

Now, 'Abdallah of Jordan was never Regent of Iraq; the Regent was Prince 'Abd al-Ilah, maternal uncle of the young king; what is more, he had occupied the Regency since April 1939, that is, before the war and the revolt to which our author alludes!

One should also remark that this erroneous assertion is not merely the result of some minor mistake in passing, or of a *lapsus* in this place only; it is rather the expression of a deep-rooted conviction of the author's, since he repeats the same statement a number of times (pp. 305, 612, 621) and, what is more, does not hesitate to draw conclusions therefrom, as witness the following citations.

2. M. Pirenne somehow finds that there was a pact of union concluded between Iraq and Jordan and goes so far as to give the precise date and content thereof. Here is what he writes on the subject:

"Disposant de la fidèle amitié du roi Abdallah de Jordanie—aussi régent d'Irak—Londres parvint en 1946 à faire réaliser entre ces deux pays une union qui plaît leur politique étrangère et leur défense sous une autorité commune" (VIII-305).

It should be remarked that he repeats the assertion in another chapter, with even more detail. He writes:

"Nous avons déjà relaté qu'en septembre 1946, Abdallah, roi de Jordanie et régent d'Irak, inspiré par Londres, amena ces deux pays à conclure un Pacte par lequel ils plaçaient sous une direction commune leur politique étrangère et leur défense, et établissaient entre eux une union douanière" (VII-621).

May I say that one will search in vain for any evidence of this so-called "pacte d'union." It never existed.

3. M. Pirenne treats of the famous "Greater Syria" project in an erroneous fashion; he writes:

"Ayant uni l'Irak et la Jordanie, Abdallah posa la question de la 'Grande Syrie,' qui devait comprendre, outre l'Irak et la Jordanie, la Syrie, le Liban et la Palestine. Mais la Chambre libanaise, en se refusant d'y adhérer, fit échouer le projet" (VII-621).

* Italics mine, here and throughout.

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Now, the "Greater Syria" project of 'Abdallah did not include Iraq or Lebanon at all; the Lebanese Chamber had no reason to consider it. Besides this, one might ask: even if Lebanon did not wish to adhere to the plan, as the author would have it, then why was the rest of the scheme not put into effect? The truth is that the idea had to do only with the union of Syria and Jordan under the aegis of Abdallah, and that Syria did not wish to give up its republican régime because Syrians knew that 'Abdallah was utterly lacking in Arab patriotism and altogether under foreign influence.

4. *A propos* the establishment of the French mandate over Syria, the author mentions the insurrection which had broken out in the "Alawite regions (situated between Alexandretta and Lebanon)," would have it that these "regions refused to be incorporated with Syria" and adds: "It took three months for France to subdue them." (VI, p. 328)

But the truth is that insurrection in these regions was directed against the French occupation, not against their incorporation into Syria. What is more, the outbreaks had started before the occupation of Damascus and Aleppo. For proof, it is necessary only to refer to the ultimatum sent to Faysal by General Gouraud: in it the General accused the Syrian government of "fomenting and aiding the insurrection of the 'Alawite chiefs against France."

5. Concerning the establishment of the royalty in Iraq, M. Pirenne writes the following:

"Fayçal y rencontra des résistances de la part des musulmans chiites, qui formaient la moitié de la population, alors que lui-même, issu d'Arabie, était sunnite. Il eut à faire face à une violente révolte; il la réprima en s'appuyant sur l'aristocratie turco-arabe" (VI-p. 328).

This assertion lacks any foundation whatsoever: the "violent revolt of the Shi'a against Faysal" does not correspond to any historical happening. On the contrary, it is well known to all that Faysal was greeted with even more warmth and enthusiasm by the Shi'a than he was by the Sunnis; the reason for this, of course, was that he was a "descendant of 'Ali, the first Imam of the Shi'a."

6. Concerning the creation of Jordan, the author writes the following:

"Quelques troubles éclatèrent en 1924, dont l'Angle-

terre prit aussitôt prétexte pour détacher de la Palestine tous les territoires quasi désertiques à l'est du Jourdain, qu'elle a érigé en royaume de Jordanie" (VI-p. 335).

The territories spoken of here have never formed part of Palestine; under the Turkish régime they constituted a district under the Province of Syria and, after the end of the First World War, when an Arab government was set up in Syria, they were an integral part of it, and not detached therefrom except as the consequence of agreements concluded between France and England. The French troops, which occupied Syria in 1920 and established the French mandate there, halted their advance in the southern Hauran and left the rest of southern Syria to the disposition of the English, in conformity with provisions of the agreements I have referred to above.

Thus, Jordan was detached from Syria, *not* from Palestine, and that in 1920, *not* in 1924, as M. Pirenne would have us believe.

* * *

Along with these errors and inaccuracies concerning the above events, I have noted as well a whole series of mistakes in judgment, which concern opinions put forth in connection with the events.

If the former can be explained by a lack of proper research, the latter can only be explained by a lack of objectivity and reflect political prejudice in matters concerning the Arab world, as witness the following examples.

1. Here is a passage dealing with contemporary Egypt:

"L'Egypte, malgré sa faiblesse économique, et malgré son manque de techniciens et d'instituts scientifiques, est persuadée que sa civilisation domine de haut celle des peuples chrétiens, parce qu'elle est inspirée d'Allah" (VII-p. 674).

This assertion does not have any factual basis. Egypt does not confuse civilization with religion; she does not call the civilization referred to in the passage above "civilization of the Christian peoples." Rather, Egyptians use the terms "European," "Western," or "contemporary civilization." Far from underestimating or derogating it, Egypt is bending all its efforts toward appropriating and assimilating it.

Her four European-type universities, with their 72,000 students of both sexes, with their

faculties and institutes of advanced studies and with their specialized libraries and scientific laboratories, are eloquent witness to the contrary of the assertion.

2. Concerning the Egyptian revolution, M. Pirenne attributes to the royal institution a role which can only be called extravagant; here is what he has to say on the subject:

"Le renversement de la royauté à Caire accusa encore la coupure qui s'est faite entre l'Egypte et le monde occidental. Le roi représentait en Egypte le seul contact politique avec le monde extérieur. Lui disparu, les rapports avec l'Egypte ont cessé de présenter un aspect politique, pour se heurter au nationalisme et au mystique islamique" (VII-p. 676).

I must state that I was most astonished to read such idle assertions in a work which bears the title of "The Great Trends of World History." But my astonishment was much the less when I read, on yet another page of this work, the following passage:

"L'évangélisation ne doit pas seulement être envisagée par les peuples colonisateurs comme une œuvre religieuse, mais aussi comme moyen politique pour s'attacher de façon définitive, les populations noires" (VII-p. 701).

The above makes it clear that this is a kind of profession of political faith, completely colonialist in nature; it explains why the author's chapters on Arab nationalism are shot through with these erroneous assertions.

3. On the question of Arab unity, our author writes the following:

"Le trafic par camion, que la guerre avait fait apparaître à travers le désert, avait créé, parmi les peuples arabes, l'illusion de l'Unité" (VI-p. 325).

This assertion is vitiated by a series of errors:

- Truck traffic across the desert did not begin until four years after the end of the war.
- The idea of Arab unity had been much in mind, several decades before the First World War, or the appearance of the trucks mentioned above.
- This war, far from creating the idea of unity, gave rise to political conditions which had the effect of enfeebling unity: in placing the Arab countries under the domination, more

or less disguised, of European powers, in creating there a whole group of Arab states and in imposing on each one of them an administrative, judicial, economic and cultural régime different one from the other—the policy of the imperialist powers incessantly worked to create divergences among the Arab countries. Panarabism is nothing less than a revulsion against these frontiers and against these divergences created and imposed on them by foreigners.

Our author affirms here that the unity of the Arab peoples is only an illusion. But I would think that a historian who cannot be unaware of the vicissitudes of Italian unity and German unity, for example, should be on guard against such categorical statements.

4. M. Pirenne has not grasped very well the difference between Arab nationalism and pan-Islam and frequently mixes them up. Also, he puts forth opinions which assume that "all Arabs are Muslims."

Here is one of his more significant assertions along these lines:

"Le Liban n'est pas à proprement parler un État arabe. Les Chrétiens et les Musulmans y sont à égalité" (VII-p. 638).

But we know very well that these Christians are Arabs, just as the Muslims are. Arabic is their mother tongue and their liturgical language;* they read the Bible in Arabic, attend sermons and masses in Arabic and sing their religious songs in the same language. In a word, they have churches of varying rites, Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant, but all Arab. A great number of these Christians took an active part in the Arab nationalist movement; there were among them eminent statesmen and men of letters who rendered important services to the Arab cause.

Besides this, it should be held in mind that Muslim Arabs had revolted against the domination of the Turks—who are also Muslims and what is more, held the Caliphate of Islam—before they revolted against the occupation and domination of Western powers.

To pretend, in spite of these facts, that the

* The liturgy of some of the Oriental-rite churches contains prayers and other formulas in ancient languages (such as Syriac and Coptic) but, since these languages are no longer spoken or understood by the people (either educated or uneducated), they are usually accompanied by translations in Arabic.

Christians of Arab countries are not Arabs and to confuse pan-Arabism with pan-Islamism, is to hang on to prejudices which have no basis in reality.

It seems to me that these prejudices are holdovers from the old "Eastern Question" as seen by Western observers in the political atmosphere of pre-war Turkey. There, relations between Muslims and Christians were steeped in an animosity, which was marked by violence and bloody quarrels.

This is accounted for by the fact that the difference between Muslims and Christians was not only religious in nature, but nationalistic as well. All Turks were Muslims; all Christians were non-Turks. The latter were Greeks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Serbs, Armenians—and each one of these Christian communities had its national language, its national history and its national aspirations, inspired by its past and given ardor by its literature.

The state of affairs in the Arab world is totally different from all that: the difference between Christians and Muslims in the Arab countries is purely religious, and not added to by a nationalistic difference. The Christians of these countries do not have any special language, nor any political history peculiarly their own. It is for this reason that their relations with Muslims cannot be compared, in any fashion, with those of Muslims and Christians of the old Ottoman Empire in the days before the First World War.

This basic truth should not be lost upon one who has taken it upon himself to study and to delineate "the great trends of world history."

ARAB WORLD

AL-'URWA AL-WUTHQA WA AL-THAWRAH AL-TAHRIRIYYAH AL-KUBRA, by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh. Cairo: Dar al-'Arab, 1958. Second Edition. No price indicated.

Reviewed by H. K. Selim

This book is a revival of the articles, comments and views expressed in *Al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa*, a paper which first appeared in Paris on March 19, 1884. It was the mouthpiece of an

association established by the authors and bearing the same name. It aimed at fostering the Muslim world, advocating nationalism, particularly Islamic nationalism, and attacking British colonialism, which had caused the dismemberment of the Muslim people. In its first issue, the objective and policy of the paper were clearly stated; namely, the study of the defects of the Muslim world, their remedies and cures, and advocating the concept of the Islamic League. This concept was based on the teachings of the Qur'an, which was, in the eyes of the authors as ardent believers in Islam, the ultimate source of information, philosophy, and the proper directive of society.

The paper was meant to be a weekly publication, but, in fact, only eighteen issues of it appeared because of strong British opposition to its antagonism toward British colonial policy.

It is important to notice that while the ideas incorporated in the articles published in *Al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa* were mainly al-Afghani's, the style of their writing was 'Abduh's. Among these articles, the one dealing with "Nationality and Religion of Islam" stresses that "Muslims all over the world, without regard to their places of origin, adhere strongly to Islam. That adherence is more important and more effective in shaping the form of their society than any other factor." The same article explains and emphasizes the democratic principles incorporated in Islam.

In another article entitled "The Past and Present of the Nation and the Cure of Its Ills," the authors explain that westernizing the methods of education resulted in the deterioration of the educational system in the Muslim world. The authors admitted that the Western system of education might have benefited those who had been educated under it, but these were unable to pass the ideas which they had acquired to their own people; superficiality and mere imitation of Westerners were the common characteristics of those educated on Western patterns. The authors found the reason for the deterioration of the Muslim World and its stagnation to be the negligence of Islamic teaching, particularly that which calls for consolidation among Muslims. Muslims had allowed differences to emerge among themselves and for-

eigners to interfere in their affairs; hence their deterioration.

In order to remedy this situation, the authors suggest in another article entitled "Islamic Unity" that unity among Muslims would lead to their strength and progress. This partially explains the present drive in the Arab world—which is in fact a part of the Muslim world—toward unity, a unity which is considered an objective of nationalism. In the authors' opinion, religion is the basic element in the formation of a nation, second to none of the other recognized elements constituting nationalism in modern political thought.

In addition to the articles a few of which we have selected for comment, news items covering a vast range of events takes up two-thirds of the book. Only news pertinent to the Muslim world was discussed, especially if it was the result of British colonial policies of that time or had any bearing upon those policies. For example, the Mahdi revolution in the Sudan and British designs on that part of the Muslim world attracted the attention of the authors. Another news aspect which was constantly discussed was the Egyptian question, where the authors condemned British policy and praised France's liberal attitude. France, at the time, advocated that nations should be independent and sovereign, and opposed British colonial policy. No event, as far as India, Afghanistan, Iran, or Morocco escaped the attention of the paper.

In general, though one might not accept all the views expressed by the authors, the book presents an indispensable phase in the history of Islamic thought—political, social, and economic. It is a call for reformation and revolution—reformation of the internal conditions of the Muslim world and revolution against foreign domination.

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BANKERS AND PASHAS: INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM IN EGYPT, by David S. Landes. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. xvi + 354 pages. \$6.00.

Reviewed by Roderic H. Davison

The Ottoman Empire of the post-Crimean

years, and especially its province of Egypt, furnished a wonderful field for adventuresome European capital. Rulers in Constantinople and Cairo were introduced to the delights and mysteries of public loans. They found also that local private bankers, both European and Levantine, were eager to provide them with short-term funds. The resultant investment, waste, graft, profiteering and deficits affected not only the economic development of the Near East, but also the stability of thrones and the interrelationships of the great powers.

Professor Landes, of the Economics Department of Columbia, has intrepidly undertaken to unravel, with the aid of some new documentary material, one aspect of this situation. Although his study is essentially in business history—beginning with a solid introduction to merchant banking, investment banking, and joint-stock finance companies in Europe as of mid-century—he has produced for all amateurs of Near Eastern history a neatly packaged case study of private banking in Egypt in the 1860's. The fortunes of Edouard Dervieu et Cie. of Alexandria in the first years of the reign of Khedive Isma'il, from 1863 to 1867, are the heart of his story.

Established in 1860, just in time to take advantage of the Egyptian cotton boom caused by the American Civil War, Dervieu's bank soon acquired Isma'il as a silent partner. But Isma'il was essentially interested in spending and in borrowing from Dervieu and others; much less interested in repaying. Dervieu encouraged the borrowing, and all was well until the cotton boom ended and later panic on the European money market tightened up credit. During this period began the cycle of public loans floated in Europe to enable Isma'il to meet his obligations of short-term paper, more short-term loans, and more public loans, until ultimately Egypt was bankrupted. But before that, the incautious Dervieu, who failed to follow the conservative advice of his well-established Paris correspondent, the banker Alfred André, was forced to liquidate and get out with what he could.

The story is woven around the correspondence of Dervieu with André, which Professor Landes discovered in the archives of André's successor

firm in Paris. It is thus not quite a history of international banking in the 1860's, nor a history of Egyptian economics and finance, nor yet a diplomatic history, although all of these aspects are present. It is essentially a picture, sometimes impressionistic and sometimes detailed, according to the sources available, of the world of banking in Alexandria, connecting Isma'il the local bankers, and the great houses of Europe. Historians and students of the contemporary scene alike will profit from Professor Landes' picture of how Isma'il used the bankers, how the bankers used Isma'il, and the double standards employed by both sides. At the bottom of the pyramid of financial paper was, of course, the *fallab*, who exists in this account, as he existed for Isma'il and the bankers, only as the cultivator of cotton and the source of revenue.

Suez and its financing enter the story obliquely, though there is not as much on this as one might expect. But there is some interesting speculation on Isma'il's presumed attempt through Dervieu in 1863-64 to buy up a controlling interest in the Suez company at depressed prices.

A product of careful scholarship, with copious references, *Bankers and Passas* is nevertheless quite the reverse of dry. Professor Landes writes well, and has resisted equally the temptation to use the rich, beautiful prose which his subject seems almost naturally to invoke.

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HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D. A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC ANNALS OF ABU L-MUHASIN IBN TAGHRI BIRDI, by William Popper. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. Part IV, 1422-1438 A. D. 217 pages. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Walter J. Fischel

The indefatigable efforts of William Popper, now the octogenarian scholar at the University of California, Berkeley, have caused the scholarly world to expect, every year, one or two more volumes pertaining to his life-work; namely, the edition and translation of the fa-

mous fifteenth century Egyptian historian, Ibn Taghri Birdi. Indeed, like a peaceful never-ending stream of productivity, there has been flowing out of the University of California Press volume after volume of Popper's monumental work on Ibn Taghri Birdi. While the previous parts of his translation (see *M. E. J.*, 1955, pp. 200-201) covered the years 1382 to 1422, the present volume, Part IV, is devoted to the rule of Sultan Barsbāī from 1422 to 1438. Compared with that of his predecessors, particularly Barqūq and Faraj, the period of Barsbāī showed a much greater stability in internal affairs and can be regarded as a period of relative calmness and consolidation. The rebellions and insurrections against the Crown, though they occurred, were rather limited and unsuccessful. A great amount of space in Ibn Taghri Birdi's history of this period is given to the account of the usual changeover of officials and officers, the appointments and dismissals of members of the military and political hierarchy, to descriptions of Barsbāī's building activities and internal reforms, such as the prohibition of begging in the streets of Cairo, and in particular to economic and financial aspects, to taxes on ships from India and on Syrian merchants. Interspersed are interesting glimpses into problems of currency, such as the prohibition of the use of the Italian ducat or the census of silk-weavers for tax-purposes or the introduction of new taxes. The Great Plague, which broke out in Egypt in 1430, is described in all its tragic and horrible consequences.

In the field of foreign policy, however, the period of Barsbāī was full of excitement. It was during his time that Cyprus was conquered (and Ibn Taghri Birdi gives a most detailed account of the capture of King Jairus), that the island of Rhodes acknowledged the suzerainty of Egypt, that an expedition against Shah Rukh, the son of Tamerlane, was organized as well as against Qara Yuluk of the White Sheep, and that the hold on Mecca, Medina and the port of Jidda for fiscal purposes was strengthened. It was also the time in which the relationship between Mamlük Egypt and Europe grew closer and where relations with European merchants were welcome, despite the expedition against the Franks near Damietta in that period.

The Necrologies, in which Ibn Taghrī Birdī indulged so much, offer also in this period a most revealing insight into the social and human aspects of the Mamlūk hierarchy, and they, taken together, constitute indeed a real Who's Who of Mamlūk society in the time of Barsbāī (see pp. 159-217).

The English translation of the account of these sixteen years of Barsbāī's rule makes fascinating reading, and the historian, medievalist and non-Arab specialist are accorded a unique chance to get acquainted with an Islamic historian of the fifteenth century, with the life of a Mamlūk Sultan and his court, and with all its problems and tensions. The fluency of the translation, even in the poetic parts, as in the previous parts of Popper's translation, hardly indicates that we have here, after all, a translation from the Arabic—superbly executed by a master of both the Arabic and the English languages.

Unlike previous parts of Popper's translation, this one contains many notes, mainly from Sakhāwī's *Dau'* for the purpose of verifying or explaining proper names, geographical terms, and other technical terms, and also references to some pertinent recent literature (note on p. 105 should read Mayer as on p. 121).

This part differs also insofar as it is annotated with many references taken from a Constantinople manuscript of the *Nujūm* (MS 3499 in a Cairo photostat), which became available to the translator only after having edited and published this part of the text on the basis of one single Arabic manuscript of Paris, thus filling a number of significant gaps of the Arabic text and improving various readings.

The Arabists, the historians, the medievalists, who are so indebted to Popper's life-work, can look forward to Part V, covering the years from 1438-1453, and to Part VI, covering the years 1453-1460, which are due to appear this year, while the concluding portions of Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *Nujūm*, covering 1460-1468, or Part VII, is in the process of being translated.

It is to be hoped that after the completion of the translation, a comprehensive index of all the names of persons, places, titles, technical terms, etc. will be prepared to seal this unique undertaking with which the name of William

Popper will be inscribed forever in the annals of Islamic scholarship in America.

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JORDAN, by Ann Dearden. London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1958. 217 pages. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Charlotte Morehouse

A newspaper woman and British Foreign Service wife (of orientalist Seaton Dearden), with more than a decade of residence in the Middle East, Ann Dearden has brought out an excellent, serviceable book on Jordan—one that, as a semi-popular work, will stand the test of time and of comparison with longer, more scholarly and more detailed treatments. It reveals the author as a person one would like to know: a woman of keen intelligence and compassionate insight, a writer of journalistic discipline and graceful style, with a flair for the pungent, illuminating phrase and that special feeling for the broad panorama of history that is, nearly, exclusively the province of the well-schooled English mind. This historical perspective, not yet shared by the immediate actors on the scene, deals directly with some of the most controversial happenings of the post-war years, and the interpretations, if not the facts, probably will be roundly berated by partisans on both sides.

The post-1953 Israeli military policy of heavy, punitive border raids is treated wholly from the Jordanian viewpoint, a bias clearly acknowledged in the preface. On the other hand, the author has paid her several distinguished compatriots, whose careers contributed to the evolution of the country, a deference that will be their historical due, but that few Jordanians yet care to acknowledge. The straightforward exposition of Egyptian-Jordanian relations, factually sound and notably honest, also will not commend itself to Arab nationalists. But in a scene so tangled, so elusive, and so rife with intense hostilities, it is impossible to escape controversy. A few very minor errors (e. g., the

understandably British slip on page 143 referring to "Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs") do not really mar the whole.

On balance, this is the best single survey treatment of Jordan yet to come out for the non-specialist and ordinary reader, who wants to be well-informed on one of the headline areas of our time. There are a smattering of ancient history and a more detailed treatment of present-day history, including, for the first time, a discussion of the National Socialist government and events leading to the termination of the Anglo-Jordanian treaty, ending just short of the King's dramatic counter-coup of April, 1957. The remaining chapters are concise essays on the most prominent of Jordan's thus far insurmountable problems: the uncertain and undemarcated Israeli border, irrigation efforts and failures, a brief *précis* of social and economic conditions, and the involved question of custody of the Holy Places. An annex provides a text of the Jordan-Israel General Armistice Agreement and four summary economic tables. This is a broad compass for less than 250 pages; the student who needs pinpoint references will find much lacking, not in depth of perception, but in detail. The economic section is especially sketchy and gives the impression of not being the author's forte.

For the specialist, the most valuable section by far is the single chapter entitled "The Struggle for Water," a masterful ordering of the dismal facts of the various alternative schemes for utilization of the Jordan River watershed. The evolution and failure of these plans is one of the least understood and most tragic facets of the Palestine chronicle. If this particular recital seems critical of international, and particularly United States, approaches in the matter, it is surely justified by the fearful human waste that has ensued. Like so much of the Palestine debacle, the sequence of Jordan water schemes is a classic pattern of failure, in which many earnest, dedicated people with the best of intentions expended efforts that, with seeming inevitability, came to naught when, in retrospect, they might have succeeded.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IRAQ: 1950-1957, by Fahim Qubain. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. xxi + 277 pages; maps, charts. \$6.00.

Reviewed by A. J. Meyer

There has long been need for an interpretative sequel to the International Bank's *Economy of Iraq* and Lord Salter's later companion piece. Since 1954, the student of economic development in Iraq has found little to edify him but an occasional journal article, a chapter in a book of conference proceedings, or the hernia-provoking compilations of statistics emitted by a dozen ministries in Baghdad. An exception to the above rule is Mr. K. G. Fenelon's admirable portrayal of Iraq's national income advance after 1950. But the real meaning of what is happening has remained obscure.

Dr. Fahim Qubain's book on the subject, *The Reconstruction of Iraq: 1950-1957*, is, therefore, a welcome addition to the literature. Writing as both a political scientist and an Arab emotionally attached to Iraq, Mr. Qubain has expanded his American doctoral dissertation into a broad-spectrum picture of change as induced by soaring oil earnings, the heavy hand of the late Nuri al-Sa'id, and public investment as planned by the Development Board. In completing his manuscript, he has drawn on the bibliographical and seminar-discussion resources of the Middle East Institute and the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania.

The result is a highly useful treatment of a Middle Eastern nation undergoing forced-draft economic growth. After an introductory background section, Mr. Qubain treats water resource control, land tenure and reform, industrialization, education, public health, and community development. In the scope of its subject matter, the book is cosmic.

The general reader will profit most from Mr. Qubain's study. He provides much with which to interpret the statistical abstracts, and he is refreshingly frank in his evaluation of the human obstacles to development in Iraq—a luxury denied themselves (at least publicly) by most non-Arab advisers to the country. He has produced an extremely readable commentary.

Specialists on Middle Eastern affairs or on economic development will find the book open to the usual criticisms. Some will feel that the introductory section (titled "The Background") might better grace the Middle East section of the *Rand-McNally Atlas*. Discussions of land reform, oil company integration programs, industrialization, and public health are thoughtful and carefully worded, yet they leave the reader tantalizingly in want of conclusions. For the expert, the job is far from being definitive.

In summary, I forecast that Mr. Qubain's study will find widespread use. It is suggestive, it serves as a guide to needed research in Iraq, and it cannot but serve as a stimulus to more exhaustive enquiry into the field he outlines.

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NORTH AFRICA

THE SLEEP OF THE JUST, by Mouloud Mammeri. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1958. 228 pages. \$3.50.

Reviewed by Manfred Halpern

Algerian writers have produced a number of excellent novels and this, the first to be translated into English, is one of the best. Berbers and Arabs writing in French (modern literary Arabic has been neglected in Algerian schools), these novelists are producing a rare commodity. Between Japan and China, far to the east, and Europe, nobody was writing novels before the nineteenth century, and very few have been written since. It takes an awareness of social relationships and their possibilities, and a passionate concern for individuals which usually occur only when there is profound cause for such sensitivity. In Mammeri's novel, childhood in a Berber village, manhood in France, and involvement in Algerian nationalism are all vividly detailed with disciplined passion. In the end, the hero becomes the victim of the clash of all three of these realms, but as a person he triumphs in his greater awareness. That so much struggle, not only between France and Algerian Muslims but also among and within Muslims, should have been brought so concretely

alive from a perspective in which all contestants are judged in the light of human rather than political values is a major achievement in the very midst of struggle. For Mammeri, this novel represents an enlargement of vision. His *La colline oubliée* (1953) was a more nostalgic, almost poetic story of the doom of a Kabyle village under the impact of modern ways and forces.

Although Algeria's literary renaissance, in contrast to European experience, followed rather than preceded nationalism and reflects its underlying emotions and conflicts, none of the novels recently produced are mere political tracts. Mouloud Faraoun, a Kabyle Berber like Mammeri, but unlike him, the son of a poverty-stricken peasant, writes in his almost autobiographical *Le fils du pauvre*, as well as in *La terre et le sang*, and *Les chemins qui montent* of the hunger, fears, and vendettas of the mountain villagers and of their fate as migrants to France. But his mountaineers are seen not only exploited by present rulers, but also oppressed by the past. His Frenchmen are not only masters but also equals, French wives, for example, of Berber villagers returned from France.

Muhammad Dib, in *La grande maison* and *L'incendie*, tells stories about life in the urban slums of Tlemcen and among the landless agricultural workers of the department of Oran. Here life is without even the possibility of nostalgia. There are no roots, and where, in the novels of Mammeri and Faraoun, mountaineers still defend dignity and honor, though they begin to question what these mean, Dib's characters can only assert the self without any longer being sure what it is.

In Dib's novels, there are political overtones which would, one suspects, be stronger if the desire to avoid difficulties of publication had not remained predominant. Similarly, the intense emotions of the young Kaleb Yacine, who was interned at 16 following the Constantine uprisings of 1945, now find partial escape in elaborate poetic images in his tragedy, *Le cadavre encerclé*, published in *L'Esprit* during 1955, and in symbolism in his novel *Nedjna*.

One might have imagined that Algeria, as the Deep South of France, experiencing in much more violent and tragic form both the clash of

races and the transformation of society, would produce novels in Faulkner's vein. It is not merely that Faulkner has deeply influenced contemporary French literature, and Algerian novelists, having no local tradition, have learned their trade in France. Faulkner's world of torment, terror and violence, his own experience of the agony of disenchantment witnessing the decline of an old culture in which his entire being is rooted, his intensity of romantic, even sheer rhetorical reconstruction, his elusive, ambiguous acceptance of contemporary issues and values—all these elements representative of our most significant Southern literature, are, one might have supposed, not merely literary models for Algeria, but they are Algeria today.

That Faulkner has, in fact, little in common with Algerian novelists is significant. Islam for these novelists is no longer the only world, as the South remains for Faulkner, that they can accept. Traditional life no longer occupies the center of their imagination. This is true also of a Tunisian (mentioned here because his is the only other North African novel available in English), Albert Memmi, in *The Pillar of Salt* (New York: Criterion Press, 1956), who concludes his novel content neither with France, Arab nationalism, Jewish traditionalism, nor Zionism. Instead, these writers have joined the ranks of the French Algerian novelists, Emmanuel Roblès, who has encouraged their work, and Albert Camus, the greatest of them, in describing a life in which being a marginal man has become the central experience of all who are awake in the twentieth century, and a search for a free and meaningful life, not as Muslim or Frenchman, but as human being, the principal concern.

◆ MANFRED HALPERN is Visiting Lecturer in Near Eastern and North African politics at Princeton University.

TRADE ROUTES OF ALGERIA AND THE SAHARA,
by Benjamin E. Thomas. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 165-288; Plate 21; 36 maps. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Douglas D. Cray

In reviewing this work, no introductory re-

mark could be more suitable than the first sentence in Mr. Thomas' own preface: "The purpose of the present study is to examine the development of trade routes in Algeria and the western Sahara and their interrelations with physical features and with the changing economic and political geography." Not only does the author admirably accomplish this, but by so doing he makes a notable contribution to the literature of the geography of transportation. Mr. Thomas' qualifications include a high degree of professional competence and personal travel on locally available facilities over most of the routes in question. Only two photographic illustrations, however, are a great pity, considering Mr. Thomas' unusual opportunities for picture-taking.

The monograph consists of two major parts, the first dealing with northern Algeria and the second with the Sahara. These are preceded by a satisfying introduction, which regards geographical factors in trade and transportation in terms of the areas concerned, and are followed by an extensive and most useful bibliography.

The northern Algerian section describes in six chapters the development of trade routes from Phoenician to modern times—from Roman roads to postwar airways. In between are the trails of the Arabs and the Turks, the conquest of North Africa by the French and their contributions to the highway system, the evolution of the railways, and the improvements and modifications brought about by the contingencies of World War II. In addition to the changing patterns of the routes themselves, constant reference is made to the changing means of transportation, emphasis on focal points, and nature of goods carried. When one has read this section, he is not only more aware of the patterns of important transportational facilities, but also why these patterns are the way they are. This is accomplished through a skillful intertwining of geographic referrals.

Much the same sort of comment may be made for the Saharan section. In three chapters, Thomas tells the story of the caravan trails from ancient times to the present, the effects on transportation of the introduction of the camel, and the rise and fall of trade centers, notably Timbuktu. The myth of Timbuktu as a great desert

entrepôt is effectively exploded. The development of modern motor and air route patterns is discussed in relation to the improvement of vehicles and changing economic needs. The Trans-Saharan Railway is considered and abandoned to its economic fate. In contrast, tourism and tourist facilities have developed to a point where it is no longer particularly adventurous to travel overland commercially to Tamanrasset in the Ahaggar.

Throughout the monograph, emphasis quite properly is placed upon the more recent aspects of transportation and trade routes in Algeria and the Sahara, especially in regard to the effects of World War II. These are described largely in terms of railways, motor roads, and airways. Mr. Thomas himself is very much aware of the need for greater knowledge of indigenous movement and its economic significance. He refers to this on pages 268-9: "The map the author was using (on an automobile trip between Tamanrasset in southern Algeria and Agades in the Niger Territory of French West Africa) had a heavy line to show the inconspicuous motor trail, but the water hole, the camel routes, and the sheep paths which dominated the landscape and the activities of the area were omitted. What proportion of the Tuaregs use the motor route or would accept the map as a reasonable representation of the region? A few dozen Europeans can be found in the larger centers, but the Tuareg population in this part of the Sahara-Sudan borderland is estimated at 198,000."

◆ DOUGLAS D. CARY is Associate Professor of geography at the University of Michigan.

SUDAN

THE MAHDIST STATE IN THE SUDAN: 1881-1898, by P. M. Holt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. vii + 264 pages. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Helen Anne B. Rivlin

Many works of scholarship have been praised for filling gaps in our knowledge, but rarely with more justification than in the case of Dr. Holt's book. Basing his work upon previously unexploited materials from the Khartoum ar-

chives as well as familiar European and non-European published materials, the author adds an entirely new dimension to the history of the Sudan in the period which saw the rise and overthrow of the Mahdist state. The focal point of the study is the internal history of the Mahdist state viewed within the context of the larger problem of imperialist rivalries in Africa at the end of the 19th century, and the conclusion reached by the author is that an independent Islamic state in the Upper Nile Valley was an anachronism without hope of survival.

The success of the revolutionary Mahdist movement is attributed by the author to a providential combination of factors. These consisted of specific grievances of the entire Sudanese community, the weakness and moral decadence of the alien government which ruled the country, the existence of a revolutionary cadre prepared to achieve its ends by force, and a leadership capable of inflaming the population by meaningful propaganda and possessing a constructive program for a new society. Furthermore, the failure of Great Britain to intervene effectively served as an added warrant to the revolution's success.

The destruction of the old régime was achieved by the time of the Mahdi's death in 1885, but there still remained the fulfilment of the Mahdist ideal of establishing a community founded on the principles of primitive Islam. Khalifa 'Abdallāhi undertook the responsibility of accomplishing this ideal, but failed. His failure stemmed from the realities of the situation; conditions for the creation of an ideal Islamic community simply did not exist in the Sudan.

'Abdallāhi found it imperative to compromise with Mahdist ideals to meet the exigencies of government. In the process, he transformed the Mahdist state into an Islamic monarchy based on the support of his own kinsmen, the Ta'āisha, and the Baqqāra tribesmen, and administered in large measure by members of the former Egyptian bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the Khalifa did eliminate the major abuses which had exercised the Sudanese before the revolution and eventually, even his opponents reconciled themselves to his regime.

It was not tyrannical government, then,

which destroyed the Mahdist state, but rather the military and technical superiority of its foreign adversaries. Furthermore, 'Abdallāh's excessive parochialism left him completely un-equipped to deal effectively with the forces which threatened and finally overthrew the state. The chance of survival, though slight, would have been better, had the Khalifa been more fully aware of the outside world and willing to play the Great Powers off against each other, as his Ethiopian counterpart had done so successfully.

Dr. Holt maintains that this work is only a preliminary study, and that much more can be done on the basis of the documents in the Khartoum archives. By this book alone, however, he has already contributed greatly to our understanding of the situation in the Sudan during this critical period in its history. Its value is greatly enhanced by the wealth of material concerning the land and people at the time of the revolt, the form of social organization, the economic and political conditions, the religious atmosphere which facilitated the rise of the Mahdi and, finally, the personalities involved. The book is admirably organized and written and will interest layman and specialist alike. For those who seek to understand the Sudan, it is obligatory reading.

◆ HELEN ANNE B. RIVLIN is Assistant Professor of history at the University of Maryland.

SHORTER NOTICES

LES CONSTITUTIONS DU PROCHE ET DU MOYEN-ORIENT, by J. E. Godchot. Paris: Sirey, 1957. 442 pages. No price indicated.

The adoption of modern state constitutions by the countries of the Middle East has been part of the general process of reception by those countries of European systems of law and political institutions over the past seventy-five years. This process, however, has so far been marked in certain instances by continual adjustments and alterations, and in others by obstructions and failures, due to the difference in cultural background, traditions and political development between the original and recipient states. M. Godchot's compilation

of constitutional texts serves to provide the student of Middle Eastern government with a picture of the varying stages of constitutional development (or lack thereof) reached in the different countries of the area.

Events in the area have moved ahead of M. Godchot's work. Thus the present work uses the Syrian Constitution of 1950 and the Egyptian Constitution of 1956. Both have now been superseded by the provisional constitution of the United Arab Republic. Similarly, Iraq is now a republic.

In addition to the texts of constitutions and other organic laws, M. Godchot has included a list of some of the principal legislation in the public and private fields, a short list of selected readings, as well as a résumé of the recent political developments for each country covered by his work. These countries include the following: Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Greece, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, the Sudan, Syria, Turkey and Yemen.

The book has a short but interesting preface by Professor Georges Vedel of the Paris Faculty of Law in which he remarks on the ideas of democracy and nationalism in the countries of the Middle East and the relation between the letter of the constitution and the facts of the situation.

◆ GEORGE N. SPEIR, Washington, D. C.

DEUTSCH-ARABISCHES WÖRTERBUCH DER UMGANGSSPRACHE IN PALÄSTINA UND IM LIBANON, 2nd edition, by Leonhard Bauer with the collaboration of Anton Spitaler. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957. xix + 402 pages. DM 26.

ÄGYPTISCHE-ARABISCHER SPRACHFÜHRER, by Kurt Munzel. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. viii + 242 pages. DM 16.

SYRISCH-ARABISCHER SPRACHFÜHRER, by Ebnerhard Kuhnt. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. viii + 147 pages. DM 8.

In 1952 the publishing house of Harrassowitz provided students of Middle Eastern affairs with an important linguistic tool, Hans Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch*, not reviewed in *MEJ*,

but now universally regarded as by far the best dictionary of modern written Arabic. It is already in its third printing, has had a large supplement published (1958), and is being translated into English. The three little Harrassowitz books listed above will not prove as valuable as Wehr's dictionary, but all three are useful tools for students of colloquial Arabic. The first is an enlarged and revised version of Bauer's vocabulary, which is based chiefly on Jerusalem Arabic with frequent indications of beduin, "peasant," and Lebanese variants. The other two are completely new books. All are primarily German-Arabic vocabularies, with the two *Sprachführer* containing also very brief sketches of the sounds and grammar of the particular dialect (Cairo and Damascus respectively). No Arabic script is used and the transcriptions are fairly good, although all three show inconsistencies, especially the Bauer volume.

The Syrian vocabulary is the smallest, with the Egyptian about three times and the Palestinian about five times as large in number of entries. Surprisingly, the three seem to be completely independent in choice of entries, as they are in transcription and grammatical terminology. The Syrian one, for example, in spite of its limited size, contains many entries not found in Bauer.

It is easy to find flaws in details of all three—there are many—but since the books are intended for purely practical purposes and make no high scholarly claims, they may be accepted gratefully for what they are. American students would be happy to have their equivalent available in English. Perhaps some day there will even be a good, comprehensive dictionary of the Syrian dialect, English-Arabic and Arabic-English, possibly based on Jerusalem with Damascus and Lebanese variants, which would fully meet the needs of speakers of English living and working in the area.

◆ CHARLES A. FERGUSON, Cambridge, Mass.

DR. SA'EED OF IRAN, by Jay M. Rasooli and Cady H. Allen. Grand Rapids: International Publications, 1957. 188 pages. \$2.95.

This is one of the outstanding success stories of the past generation, which should not only appeal to the many who are interested in the impact of "Western" ideas on Eastern peoples, but which has a special significance to the missionary world. Furthermore, it is a true story of a man who was curious, born in a world where curiosity was considered a sin. Sa'eed was born in Senna (modern Sanandaj), a sleepy, backward, intellectually stagnant, mountain girt, isolated Kurdish town in western Iran. But he was curious and this was to lead him far afield. Trained only in Islamic theology, he met Christian missionaries as a young man. His association with them destroyed his security and he fled to Harvadan where he assisted the American missionary doctor. This new skill took him to Europe and England, where he studied medicine under the best of teachers. Returning to Iran, he became famous, served in the Royal Court, and eventually returned for a visit to Sanandaj. Those who had once vowed to kill him begged for his services. He suffered a short period of imprisonment in 1937 because Riza Shah felt a note of Dr. Sa'eed's implied criticism of the régime but when he died, it could truly be said, he had no enemies, only friends.

For missionary circles, the story has an added value. Like St. Paul, Dr. Sa'eed wanted to be indebted to no man and to give his witness as an independent person. His Christianity was dynamic, sincere and free from all clericalism. He mixed his Christian message with medicine in equal parts and was successful in both kinds of service.

The book is easily readable, affords a window into many phases of Iranian life and gives great encouragement that the gap which exists between cultures can be bridged by men of character, good will and courage.

◆ EDWIN M. WRIGHT, Washington, D. C.

HAMISHPAT HAMUSLIMI BE'MEDINAT ISRAEL (MUSLIM LAW IN ISRAEL), by S. D. Goitein. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1957. 311 pages. No price indicated.

There is scarcely need to introduce the author to readers familiar with Oriental studies. For many years Professor Goitein, as Dean of

the Hebrew University's School for Oriental Studies, has published a wide variety of books on Arab and Muslim affairs. This new work is aimed at filling a long felt gap in the knowledge of young Israel about Islam and Muslim laws. Lawyers, law students, and others who come in frequent contact with Israeli courts are daily faced with issues connected in one way or another with Muslim law, many of whose principles are practiced in the Israeli sphere of legal matters to this day.

Such persons previously had no comprehensive reference book which could provide the required quotations, and even more, give in a 172-page introduction, a well written background on the whole range of Muslim law. The book gives a clear picture of the development of Muslim civilization, with the law being traced back to the Qur'an and earlier, showing how the Shar'a law came into being, and the explanations of such purely Muslim institutions as Waqfs. The personal status laws, divorce, marriage, taxation, property issues and other problems are given in full text and explanatory notes.

The second part of the book is written by Dr. Ben Shemesh, who for years has been lecturing at the Tel Aviv High School for Law and Economics, and presents the principles and laws common in Israel, and according to which Israel's four Muslim Shari'a Courts, and one Shari'a Court of Appeal, prevail among Israel's Arab population of nearly 150,000. This part also provides the reader with the full text of the Ottoman family law of 1917. Both Prof. Goitein's introductory background and Dr. Ben Shemesh's portion form one entity and represent a tremendous contribution in their field.

◆ GIDEON WEIGERT, Jerusalem, Israel.

A HANDBOOK OF DIPLOMATIC HEBREW, by Lawrence Marwick. Washington: Davelle Publishers, 1957. 119 pages. No price indicated.

Recent developments and coinages in diplomatic and political Hebrew have made existing dictionaries inadequate for the precise translation required in this type of material, especially for the non-expert. The *Handbook* is a list of

words and expressions selected by Dr. Marwick from documents which crossed his desk at the Hebraic Section of the Library of Congress. The range of selection is quite broad, which is necessary because of the nature of diplomatic concern.

The terms and expressions are in actual alphabetic order, not according to roots or main words, except that vowel letters added for the *plene* spelling are disregarded. This makes for easier searching most of the time, although it is disturbing to one used to conventional dictionaries to find, for example, *be'orah zemani*, "provisionally," listed under the letter *bet*. A note explaining this arrangement would have been welcome.

The other departures from convention, however, make the book very convenient when speed is essential. With few exceptions, only one translation—the term in actual political usage—is given. If a term is in the book at all, the translation may be found in a moment; if not, almost no time has been wasted. Secondly, the Hebrew is unvocalized. This is unusual for a dictionary, but it greatly increases the speed with which one's eye travels down the page looking for words. Most users, though, will still wish that a vocalized transcription had been included.

The *Handbook*'s usefulness is further enhanced by two special sections, one listing several hundred Hebrew abbreviations, and the other listing the English and Hebrew names of a number of organizations and international bodies.

◆ JOSEPH A. REIF, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

AL-HIJRAH MIN AL-RIF ILA AL-MUDUN FI AL-'IRAQ (MIGRATION OF RURAL FOLK TO TOWNS IN IRAQ), by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Hilālī. Baghdad: al-Najāh Press, 1958. vi + 179 pages. 300 fils.

This book is an expansion of a lecture which the author delivered at the Society of Iraqi Economists in Baghdad in 1957 on rural migration to the cities in Iraq. This is a question which has become of serious concern in recent years.

The organization of the material in the book is very bad. There are no chapters—only topic headings. The topics are introduced with no systematic correlation to each other. Sometimes it is difficult to determine where one subject ends and another begins.

The material itself, however, contains valuable and detailed information on the history of land tenure in Iraq, its customs and traditions, its hierarchical structure; on the share of the fellah and how it is arrived at; and some descriptive and statistical data on the sizes of land-holdings. It also includes the history, cause and extent of migration to the cities; detailed information on the areas and tribes of origin of immigrants; recipient areas and towns; the influence of migration on Baghdad city; the attitudes and roles of the Ministries of Social Affairs and Development; interpretations by officials and experts of the causes and results of migration; official action taken to remedy the situation; and criticisms and suggestions by the author.

◆ FAHIM I. QUBAIN, Washington, D. C.

IRAN, PAST AND PRESENT, by Donald N. Wilber. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958; 4th edition. ix + 312 pages. \$5.00

An extensive reworking of the 3rd edition has greatly enhanced the usefulness of this manual. The author's analysis of current conditions and predictions of the future are sound, although more optimistic, especially with reference to the USSR, than the facts he himself has cited seem to warrant. The general organization of the book is still inadequate in several respects; e.g., the historical narrative is illogically interrupted by an intrusive chapter, related materials are not always kept together. Certain subjects are given disproportionately much or little attention; e.g., the two-paragraph section on modern literature is excessively brief (besides containing some errors). On the whole, however, the book retains its title as the most valuable, up-to-date reference work available in English on contemporary Persia.

◆ SIDNEY GLAZER, Bethesda, Md.

THE MIDDLE EAST: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY, edited by Sir Reader Bullard. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. Third Edition. xviii + 555 pages. \$9.00.

The R. I. I. A.'s *Middle East* and the *Europa* publication of the same title are the two most valuable single-volume reference works on the area in the English language. Of the two, the work under review is the more comprehensive and balanced treatment. Sections devoted to the history, economic and social problems, religions, and minorities of the area as a whole are useful additions to the country-by-country survey. The Appendices, containing in tabular form statistical material so difficult to find quickly when needed (especially the Appendix on Middle East oil), greatly enhance the reference value of the book.

On the whole, the book is well-edited, although there are some minor errors (King Sa'ud visited Amman in June, 1957 and not 1947). Statistics have been somewhat revised, although, as the Preface points out, they are not of a uniform standard for each country. It may also be noted that the general history section has been shortened, and Appendices, containing useful documentary material—like the text of the Covenant of the League of Arab States—have been eliminated because of space limitations. It might have been better, perhaps, to have included such material, even though the length (and, perhaps, the retail price) of the book would have to be increased. Furthermore, it seems unfortunate that sections are not included on Afghanistan and Pakistan, particularly since these two countries are so closely tied to the area and are not expressly excluded from R. I. I. A.'s "definition" of the Middle East.

It must be frustrating to the publishers of a survey of this kind to find that it is outdated by the time it appears in print. This cannot be helped when dealing with a constantly and rapidly changing part of the world. It is nonetheless a pity that the events of the Summer of 1958 could not be included. The need for revision to include them is already pressing.

All in all, however, the book is an indispensable aid to both the specialist and non-specialist interested in the area.

◆ DONALD C. CURRY, Washington, D. C.

MIN A'LAM AL-SHI'R AL-YAMAMI, by 'Imran ibn Muhammad al-'Imran Riyadh: Al-Riyadh Printing Press, 1377/1957-58. 156 pages. No price indicated.

This work, as the title indicates, is a collection of biographical sketches on the lives and works "Of Noted Poets of al-Yamamah," al-Yamamah being the ancient name of the district in Najd where Riyadh is located. Most of these biographies, the writer notes in his introduction, first appeared separately in the Riyadh periodical, *al-Yamamah*, between 1372/1952 and 1375/1955 when the paper was still a monthly literary magazine. One of the biographies appeared in the Mecca daily, *al-Bilad al-Sa'udiyah*, in 1372/1952-53, and others were written subsequently to make the picture more complete. The list includes twelve poets of al-Yamamah, among whom are the pre-Islamic al-A'sha and the well-known Umayyad poet Jarir. The only justification for treating these twelve poets in one volume is the fact that they all come from al-Yamamah. In almost all cases the poet eventually moved to one of the better known centers of the Arab world in the Hijaz, Damascus or Baghdad. The author, in Arab literary fashion, begins by summarizing the life of the poet and then goes on to give samples of his poetry, which is duly reviewed and commented upon.

The author, 'Irman ibn Muhammad al-'Imran, has been a constant contributor of articles to *al-Yamamah*, dealing with various literary subjects and questions of the hour, political and otherwise.

◆ MICHEL M. MAZZAOUI, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

MODERN LITERARY ARABIC, by David Cowan. Cambridge: University Press, 1958. xi + 205 pages. No price indicated.

The author undertakes to give the beginner "the grammatical structure of the modern literary language as it is found today in newspapers." Actually Mr. Cowan presents a concise, thorough grammar of classical Arabic with notes on the modern literary language.

Each of the twenty-five lessons includes a grammatical discussion with copious examples

and an exercise in Arabic, followed by transliteration and translation. The exercises consist throughout of isolated sentences. The subject matter is drawn solely from situations in which colloquial speech occurs rather than from literary sources. Perhaps in a later edition Mr. Cowan will replace these sentences with material of a literary nature and add exercises in composition.

Although a grammar of literary Arabic based on a thorough analysis of contemporary material remains to be written, this introduction to the grammar of both classical and modern literary Arabic is the best I have seen.

◆ ARNOLD C. SATTERTHWAIT, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

AL-USTADH HUMAID, by Khalid Muhammad Khalifah. Riyadh: al-Riyadh Printing Press, 1378/1958. 116 pages. No price indicated.

Al-Ustadh Humaid is a collection of eleven short stories, taking its title from the first story of the volume. It is stated in the short introduction by Shaikh Hamad al-Jasir, owner-editor of the Riyadh weekly *al-Yamamah*, that this is the second collection of short stories by the author, who is also a regular contributor to *al-Yamamah*.

The stories are actually character sketches. Ustadh Humaid, for example, is a type. He "writes poetry and prose, and talks on every subject including health and medicine, politics and history, military tactics and the atom, agriculture and motor car engineering." His most humorous characteristic is his love of food. He is a real gastronome, with all the gastro-intestinal problems to go with it.

The other sketches are of familiar types: the old man who wants to marry again, this time a younger girl; the young orphan who finds shelter in a friendly home; the old woman who is always sick until married; and the employee who is unjustly treated by his supervisor but receives better treatment by the proprietor. In the conversational dialogue the author often uses colloquial Saudi dialect.

The author, Khalid Muhammad Khalifah, is Assistant to the Director of Protocol in Riyadh. Five pen-drawings by Salim Habshi, an official

of the Directorate General of Broadcasting, Press and Publications, illustrate the various stories.

◆ MICHEL M. MAZZAOUI, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

General

Five Desert Generals, by Correlli Barnett. London: Win-gate, 1959. 320 pages. 18s. A story of British generals who commanded the British Eighth Army.

Introduction to Islamic Civilization: Course Syllabus and Selected Readings, by Marshall G. S. Hodgson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Volume II, 616 pages. No price indicated.

Oxford Regional Economic Atlas of the Middle East and North Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 60 pages of maps, 16 pages of notes, statistics, and a 32 page Gazetteer. 42s.

Arab World

Egypt, by Tom Little. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. Nations of the Modern World series. 321 pages, map. No price indicated.

The Hashemite Kings, by James Morris. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1959. \$4.50. A history of the Hashemite dynasty from earliest times to 1958.

An Historical Glimpse of the Armenians in Iraq, by Vartan Melkonian. Basra: The Times Press, 1957. 25 pages. No price indicated.

Nasser of Egypt: The Search for Dignity, by Wilton Wynn. Cambridge, Mass.: Arlington Books, 1959. No price indicated.

Syria: A Short History, by Philip K. Hitti. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959. 276 pages. \$4.75. A condensed version of *History of Syria*, published in 1951.

Trouble in Beirut, by Desmond Stewart. London: Win-gate, 1959. No price indicated. A first-hand account of the civil strife of 1958.

Cyprus

Below the Tide, by Penelope Tremayne. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959. 192 pages. \$3.00. An account of a year of life in Cyprus, a year of work, of terror, and of trust among the Cypriot mountain villagers.

India

Communism in India, by Gene Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959. 575 pages. \$10.00.

The Pathans, by Olaf Caroe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1959. xxii + 485 pages, appendices, plates, maps. \$12.50. A history of tribal life on the Northwest frontier of India.

Israel

Ben Gurion: The Biography of an Extraordinary Man, by Robert St. John. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959. 336 pages. \$3.95.

Chaim Weizmann, by Isaia Berlin. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1959. \$2.25.

Prelude to Israel: An analysis of Zionist Diplomacy (1897 to 1947), by Alan Taylor. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 130 pages. \$4.75. A monograph study of Zionist policy planning and diplomatic operations leading to the creation of the state of Israel.

Sinai Victory?, by Brig. Gen. S. L. A. Marshall. New York: William Morrow, 1958. \$5.00. A chronicle of the Sinai campaign by a military expert, who visited there in November and December of 1956.

The Zionist Idea: An Historical Analysis and Reader from the Writings of Moses Hess, Theodor Herzl, Abad Ha-am, Martin Buber, Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion, and many Others, by Arthur Hertzberg. New York: Doubleday, 1959. \$7.50.

North Africa

Berber Village, by Bryan Clarke. London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1959. 168 pages, 8 pages of illustrations. 16s. Description of the Oxford University Exploration Club study of the Berber tribes in the Atlas Mountains.

One Woman Farm: A Moroccan Adventure, by Betty Lussier. London: Jonathan Cape, 1959. 18s. A story about farming in Morocco.

Pakistan

Gateway to the Khyber, by Robin Bryans. London: Robert Hale, 1959. 18s. A travel account of the Northwest Province of West Pakistan.

Indo-Pakistani Relations (1947-1955), by Dr. J. B. Das Gupta. Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1958. 256 pages. 35s. An analysis of political relationships between the two countries against a background of rival ideologies of secularism and Islam.

Sudan

Kitchner, Portrait of an Imperialist, by Philip Magnus. New York: Dutton, 1958. 432 pages. \$6.50.

Turkey

The Story of the Turks from Empire to Democracy, by Dr. Richard Peters. New York: C. S. Publishing Company, 1959. 225 pages. \$3.95.

Art, Literature and Linguistics

India and Modern Art, by W. G. Archer. New York: Macmillan, 1959. No price indicated. Traces the development of Indian art over fifty years and its impact on many contemporary Western artists.

The Romance of the Rubaiyat, by A. J. Arberry. New York: Macmillan, 1959. No price indicated. An analysis of the Fitzgerald translation.

History, Archeology and Religion

Andalus: Spain under the Muslims, by Edwyn C. Hole. London: Robert Hale, 1958. No price indicated.

The Arab Federalists of the Ottoman Empire, by Dr. Hassan Sa'ab. Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1958. xiv + 322 pages. 40s. A presentation of a study of Arab national and institutional evolution from pre-Islamic Arabia to the Ottoman Empire. The role of early modern federalism is examined as an issue intimately connected with the awakening of Arab nationalism.

The International Economy of the Early Middle Ages, by A. E. Lieber. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959. 330 pages, 2 maps, index. No price indicated. An essay in Islamic economic history.

The Introductory Chapters of Yaqt's Mu Jam al-Buldan, trans. and ann. by Wadie Jwaideh. Leiden: E. J. Brill (for the George Camp Keiser Foundation), 1959. 79 pages. No price indicated.

The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566, by Philip P. Argenti. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. 3 volumes. \$50.00.

Le Problème Juridique des Lieux-Saints, by B. Collin. Paris: Librairie Sirey. xiii + 434 pages. No price indicated.

Prophecy in Islam, by Fazlur Rahman. New York: Macmillan, 1958. 118 pages. \$3.50. A tracing of Islamic religio-philosophical doctrines of the intellect and of prophecy, particularly in the writings of al-Farabi and Avicenna.

Sanusiyyah: A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam, by N. A. Ziadeh. Leiden: Brill, 1958. xiii + 135 pages, bibliography and index. gld. 12. After a short introduction on Islam in North Africa and on Libya in the nineteenth century, the author discusses the founder, organization, and philosophy of Sanusiyyah and its relation to similar movements in Islam.

Visages de l'Islam, by Haider Bammate. Paris: Payot Lausanne, 1958. Second edition. 427 pages. No price indicated.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

The American Bridge to the Israeli Commonwealth, by Bernard A. Rosenblatt. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Cudahy, May, 1959. \$3.75.

Early India and Pakistan, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1959. \$5.50.

Israel's Odyssey, by Abraham Mayer Heller. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, May, 1959. \$4.00.

Soviet Russia and the Middle East, by Walter Z. Laqueur. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1959. \$6.00.

Tumult of Creation, by Abba Eban. New York: Horizon Press, May, 1959. \$6.00.

Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization, by Ziya Gokalp. Selected, arranged, and translated by Niyazi Berkes. New York: Columbia University Press, May, 1959. \$5.00.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer

With contributions from: Ernest Dawn, Richard Ettinghausen, Sidney Glazer, R. S. Harrer, Louis A. Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M. Perlmann, C. Rabin, W. Sands.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

For list of periodicals reviewed, see page 228. For list of abbreviations, see page 231.

HISTORY (Medieval)

11459 "The peoples of Central Asia." *C. A. Rev.* 6, no. 4 (1958) 378-85. The historical background.

11460 AYALON, DAVID. "The system of payment in Mamluk military society." *J. Econ. and Soc. Hist. of the O.* (Leiden) 257-96. Second and concluding installment.

11461 BEKRI, CHIKH. "Le kharijism berbère." *Annales de l'Inst. d'Etudes O. d'Alger* 15 (1957) 55-108. Some aspects of the Rustumid kingdom. While Kharijism was a major factor in Islamizing North Africa, it failed to unify the area.

11462 CANARD, M. "Quelques observations sur l'introduction géographique de la Bugyat at-T'alab de Kamal ad-Din ibn al-'Adim d'Alep." *Annales de l'Inst. d'Etudes O. d'Alger* 15 (1957) 41-53. Description of this still unedited material which is of "une richesse extraordinaire et fourmille d'informations sur toutes sortes de sujets."

11463 DARMANIAN, M. "The birthplace of Moses of Khorene." *Armenian Rev.* 11 (Jl '58) 108-14. Some notes on the Armenian "Herodotus."

11464 DENY, JEAN. "Un soyugal du timourid Shahruh en écriture ouigoure." *J. A.* 245, no. 3 (1957) 253-66. A text dated 1422, with extensive commentary.

11465 D'ESZLARY, CH. "L'administration et la vie urbaine dans la Hongrie occupée par les Turcs au cours des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles." *I.B.L.A.* 20, no. 4 (1957) 351-68. Though organized along military lines with authority reaching to Constantinople, the occupation was largely benevolent, ending with the development of genuine understanding and friendship between Hungarian and Turk.

11466 GOITEIN, S. D. "The Geniza collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania." *Jew. Quart. Rev.* 49 (Jy '58) 35-52. Documents from 12th cent. Egypt.

11467 HRBEK, I. "Der dritte Stamm der Rüs nach arabischen Quellen." *Arch. O.* (Prague) 25, no. 4 (1957) 628-52. Only the original Iṣṭakhrī can be used as a source.

11468 AL-MUNAJJID, S. "A Mamluk decree against the creed of Ibn Taymiya" (in Arabic). *al-Majallat* 33 (Ap '58) 259-69. Text of a decree of 705/1305 issued by Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn, and an account of the trial of the reformer.

11469 MERAD, ALI. "Abd al-Mu'min à la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord (1130-1163)." *Annales de l'Inst. d'Etudes O. d'Alger* 15 (1957) 109-63.

11470 SEMENOVA, L. A. "Main trends in the development of feudal land-ownership in XV century Egypt" (in Russian). *Sov. Vost.* 4, no. 3 (1958) 83-9. Analysis of Ibn al-Jiān K. *al-tubfab al-saniyah* and other material shows that the trend was to convert military fiefs into private holdings.

11471 TOGAN, Z. V. "Timur's campaign of 1395 in the Ukraine and North Caucasus." *Ann. of the Ukr. Acad. in the U.S.* (New York) 6, no. 3-4 (1958) 1358-71.

HISTORY AND POLITICS (Modern)

11472 "Arab nationalism and 'Nasserism'." *World Today* 14 (D '58) 532-42. Expresses strong doubt that the Western powers can come to terms with "Nasserism," here equated with Arab nationalism.

11473 "British policy in Central Asia in the early nineteenth century." *C. A. Rev.* 6, no. 4 (1958) 386-407.

Comments on a Soviet interpretation of Captain Richmond Shakespeare's mission to Khiva in 1840 in connection with Britain's alleged plans for expansion into Central Asia.

11474 "Central Asian History, 1917-1924." C. A. Rev. 6, no. 3 (1958) 272-9. Analysis of several publications, sponsored by regional Academies of Science, that treat of the historical events of the 1918-1924 period of revolution and reconstruction in Soviet Central Asia.

11475 "Libya: seven years of independence." World Today 15 (F '59) 59-68. "Although the development of the new state has of necessity been difficult, the pessimists who predicted for it a short and disastrous future have been proved wrong."

11476 "Mashhad, 1911-1912." C. A. Rev. 6, no. 3 (1958) 324-46. An account of the events leading up to the Russian bombardment of the Imam Reza shrine in 1912, based on the hitherto unavailable private papers of Sir Percy Sykes.

11477 "The 1917-1920 uprising in Persian Azerbaydzhan — a new appraisal." C. A. Rev. 6, nos. 3, 4 (1958) 347-56, 432-47. Analytic summary of a Soviet book (by Sh. A. Tagiyeva) which seeks to relate the events of the communist revolution to the development of the so-called national-liberation movement.

11478 "The rising of Ishaq Khan in southern Turkestan (1881)." C. A. Rev. 6, no. 3 (1958) 253-63. Translation of an article on the subject by N. A. Khalpin, an apologia for Tsarist policy and action, particularly in Persia and Afghanistan.

11479 "Tsarist policy toward Islam: the Soviet version." C. A. Rev. 6 no. 3 (1958) 242-52. Comments on, and quotations from, a communist article describing the strongly anti-Islamic sentiments of the Tsarist military governors.

11480 "Tunisia." Arab World 36 (Jl '58) 15-25. A convenient summary of the country's history.

11481 ATYEO, HENRY C. "Egypt since the Suez crisis." Mid. East. Af. 9 (Je - Jl '58) 197-208. An interpretation of the "important changes that have occurred in Egypt since the Israeli-British-French invasion" interpreted against a background summary of the events of 1956.

11482 CLIN, GEORGES. "Situation de l'Irak." Orient 2, no. 4 (1958) 33-42. The best way to check the progress of the extreme left is to give full recognition to the independence of the country. Above all, Washington should avoid involvement in the Egyptian-Iraqi quarrel.

11483 DEMEERSEMAN, A. "Aspect humain des réformes de Khéredine en Tunisie." I.B.L.A. 20, no. 4 (1957) 317-50. Historically documented evidence of the passion for justice displayed by this exceptional 19th century Arab statesman.

11484 DEMEERSEMAN, A. "La doctrine de Khéredine en matière de politique intérieure." I.B.L.A. 21, no. 1 (1958) 13-29. An interesting account of the statesman's efforts to support the Ottoman Empire without becoming embroiled with the European powers.

11485 DEMEERSEMAN, A. "Indépendance de la Tunisie et politique extérieure de Khéredine." I.B.L.A. 21, no. 3 (1958) 229-77. Foreign policy and domestic policy are sides of the same coin. Khayr al-din vainly sought internal reforms as a means of ensuring external independence.

11486 FILSHTINSKII, I. M. "Cairo rebellions in 1798-1800 and Jabarti's account of them." (in Russian) Sov. Vost. 4, no. 3 (1958) 46-56.

11487 FINER, HERMAN. "Reflections on the nature of Arab nationalism." Mid. East Af. 9 (O '58) 302-12. Views pan-Arabism as a serious threat that can be contained only by "an outside force, acting justly."

11488 FISCHEL, WALTER J. "Mulla Ibrahim Nathan (1816-1868)." Hebrew Union College Annual 29 (Cincinnati '58) 331-75. Sheds light on a obscure page of 19th cent. Central Asian history relating to the struggle between Russia and Britain for control over the area. Nathan was a Jewish agent of the British, rendering useful service during the first Anglo-Afghan war.

11489 HOURANI, GEORGE F. "Egypt during the Suez crisis." Michigan Alumnus (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 64 (Mr '58) 93-9. An orientalist who chanced to be in Cairo at the time of the 1956 crisis made objective on-the-spot notes.

11490 ISSAWI, CHARLES. "Negotiation from strength? A reappraisal of Western-Arab relations." Internat. Af. 35 (Ja '59) 1-9. The only two alternatives are: to cling to a few easily defended oil areas, regardless of repercussions, or to concede Arab nationalism its major objectives. The second requires the building up of a strong bargaining position by developing other sources of energy and additional oil supplies.

11491 IVANOV, N. A. "The basic forms of feudal land ownership in Tunisia in the 70's of the XIX century." (in Russian) Kratk. Soobshch. Inst. Vost. 26 (1958) 3-14.

11492 JAESCHKE, G. "Auf dem Wege zur türkischen Republik." Welt des Islams 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 206-18. Elucidates some problems concerning the Turkish constitution.

11493 JARGY, SIMON. "La Syrie, province de la République arabe unie." Orient 2, no. 4 (1958) 17-32. The U. A. R. has not given to the union a form corresponding to the traditional aspirations of the Syrians, nor has it conferred the political and economic advantages hoped for.

11494 KARTSEV, A. A. "The U.S.A. and Darlan's North African government." (in Russian) Kratk. Soobshch. Inst. Vost. 26 (1958) 54-71.

11495 KINYAPINA, N. S. "The treaty of Unkiar Iskelesi of 1833." (in Russian) Nauchnye Doklady Vyshei Sboly, Ist. Nauki (Moscow) 2 (1958) 30-49. The treaty was beneficial to Turkey, the Balkan peoples, and Russia, but not to the Western powers, which therefore opposed it and succeeded in effecting considerable modifications. Cites archival material.

11496 KUKANOVA, N. G. "From the history of Russo-Iranian commercial ties in the 17th century." (in Russian) Kratk. Soobshch. Inst. Vost. 26 (1958) 41-53. Russia sought to become the monopolistic middleman for the silk trade between East and West.

11497 LAWRENCE, JOSEPH. "The Levant chooses 'socialism'." *Mid. East. Aff.* 9 (My '58) 172-8. Arab national socialism ("a Marxist drink in an Islamic cup") bears little resemblance to "international socialism." A brief account of party politicking rather than of the ideological content.

11498 LEVIN, Z. I. "On the activities of certain cultural societies in Syria during the second half of the 19th century." (in Russian) *Kratk. Soobsch. Inst. Vost.* 26 (1958) 15-27. Data on the 1850-1875 period, from the original publications of two societies and contemporary reports.

11499 MINGANTI, PAOLO. "In margine alla crisi libanese." *Oriente Mod.* 38 (Je '58) 489-96.

11500 NALLINO, MARIA. "Intorno ai recenti mutamenti nell'Arabia Saudiana." *Oriente Mod.* 38 (Ap '58) 293-9. Concludes that the decree of March 23, 1958, which conferred full powers upon Faysal, was most likely a purely internal change unrelated to foreign affairs, and that the change was legitimization of the autocracy of Faysal rather than the first step toward democratic government.

11501 OZANIAN, MEROOJAN. "Vramian on the value of diplomacy and propaganda." *Armenian Rev.* 11 (N '58) 61-70. The astute observations of an early 20th cent. Armenian journalist on enlisting western support for Armenian nationalism.

11502 PERLMANN, M. "Midsummer madness." *Mid. East. Aff.* 9 (Ag-S '58) 246-61. An editorialized chronicling of Middle East events during the summer of 1958.

11503 PERLMANN, M. "Muddling through." *Mid. East. Aff.* 9 (N '58) 334-8. In the fall of 1958 the Middle East "presented a picture of a holding action by the west versus initiative by the Soviets (agreement with Egypt on the Aswan Dam).

11504 PIPES, RICHARD. "Soviet Moslems today." *New Leader* (New York) 35 (D 29 '58) 8-11. Russian cultural pressure and increasing secularization of Islam have intensified nationalist feelings.

11505 RODKEY, F. S. "Ottoman concern about western economic penetration in the Levant, 1849-1956." *J. Mod. Hist.* 30 (D '58) 348-53. A well-documented study, based on unpublished British archival material, of the antecedents of the first Ottoman war loan of 1855.

11506 SEMIONOV, L. S. "On Russian-Persian economic relations in the first third of the 19th century." (in Russian) *Nauchnye Dokl. Vysshel. Sboly., Ist. Nauki* (Moscow) 1 (1958) 52-65.

11507 SHAMSUTDINOV, A. M. "The Soviet-Turkish treaty of friendship and brotherhood of March 16, 1921." (in Russian) *Kratk. Soobsch. Inst. Vost.* 26 (1958) 72-83.

11508 SHARIF, A. "Fifty years after the founding of the journal *Molla Nasreddin*" (in Russian). *Kratk. Soobsch. Inst. Vost.* 27 (1958) 23-30. Describes how the extremist Azerbaijani periodical was established in 1906 by Jalil Mamed Kulizadeh.

11509 SHWADRAN, BENJAMIN. "Union of Jordan with Iraq and recoil." *Mid. East. Aff.* 9 (D '58) 370-93. Detailed interpretive chronology of policy developments from May 1957 to September 1958.

11510 TSVETKOVA, B. "Kaya taxation in Bulgaria under the Turks: the tax connected with the maintenance of inns." (in Polish) *Przeglqd O.* 2 (26) (1958) 193-8.

11511 TVERITINOVA, A. S. "Legislation on the provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the 15-16th century." (in Russian) *Kratk. Soobsch. Inst. Vost.* 26 (1958) 92-108.

11512 URMANOVA, R. K. "The reforms of the Afghan government from 1919-1925." (in Russian) *Izv. Akad. Nauk Uzbek SSR, Ser. Obshch. Nauk* (Tashkent) 2 (1958) 65-73. The reforms of Amanullah Khan undermined the position of feudal elements and brought a new type of landlord and trader to the fore. See also: 11459, 11524, 11529, 11576, 11585

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources)

11513 "Development of transport in North Kazakhstan." *C. A. Rev.* 6, no. 3 (1958) 281-97. Summarizes the data from Osargin's book on railways, roads, and oblast communications.

11514 "Economic conditions in Egypt in 1957." *Econ. Bull.* (Nat'l. Bank of Egypt) 11, no. 2 (1958) 96-159.

11515 "Egyptian region—USSR economic agreement details." *Mid. East Economist* (Cairo) 3 (N '58) 11-8. A list of the projects and the agencies in charge of implementation.

11516 "Glance on the High Dam project." *L'Egypte Industrielle* (Cairo) 34 (N '58) 10-8. A short report by the High Dam department of the Egyptian government citing the potential economic benefits that will accrue both to Egypt and to the Sudan from the dam.

11517 "Quarterly economic review, 1958." *Econ. Bull.* (Nat'l. Bank of Egypt) 11, no. 2 (1958) 160-87.

11518 BRITTAN, OLIVE. "The introduction of modern bee-keeping to Cyrenaica." *Arab World* 37 (O '58) 25-9. This small but growing industry promises to make an important contribution to Libyan economic development.

11519 KERIMOV, M. A. "The economic relations between the Transcaucasian Soviet republics and Turkey (1922-1923)." (in Russian) *Kratk. Soobsch. Inst. Vost.* 26 (1958) 84-91. An account of the Transcaucasian-Turkish economic conference of 1922.

11520 LUBELL, HAROLD. "Middle East crises and world petroleum movements." *Mid. East. Aff.* 9 (N '58) 338-48. A projection into 1965 in an effort to calculate the tanker requirements for maintaining normal oil supplies in western Europe in the event that all trans-Arabian oil arteries should be blocked.

11521 MOISEYEV, P. P. "Turkey's industry in the years of the second World War (1939-1945)." (in Russian) *Kratk. Soobsch. Inst. Vost.* 26 (1958) 28-40.

11522 OKYAR, OSMAN. "Economic framework for industrialization." *Mid. East. Aff.* 9 (Ag-S '58) 261-7. An analysis of the Turkish experience, focusing on the

results of changes in the economic background of the industrial development.

11523 ROZALIYEV, I. N. "The position of small producers and home workers in Turkey." (in Russian) *Kratk. Soobshch. Inst. Vost.* 26 (1958) 109-20. Based on Haluk Cillov's report on the textile industry in the Denizli vilayet (1949).

11524 SCOTT-REID, DON. "The date-industry of Iraq." *Arab World* 37 (O '58) 20-1. This highly modernized industry is playing an important role in the economic development of the country.

See also: 11527

SOCIAL CONDITIONS (General, population and ethnology, medicine and health, religion and law)

11525 ALEXANDER, EDWARD. "Crime in Soviet Armenia." *Armenian Rev.* 11 (N '58) 3-12. A study of the Soviet press reveals the prevalence of crime largely motivated "by the desire to acquire the property of others."

11526 BERTIER, FRANCIS. "L'idéologie politique des Frères musulmans." *Orient* 2, no. 4 (1958) 43-57. Summary of a book on the subject by a top leader of the organization who has had legal training in the West.

11527 BOUSQUET, G. H. "Quelques points d'Iktisāf concernant le rituel d'après Moh'ammed ed-Dimachqi." *Annales de l'Inst. d'Etudes O. d'Alger* 15 (1957) 165-81. Translation and notes on a legal treatise purporting to explain the divergent solutions provided by the orthodox schools.

11528 CALLENS, M. "Le facteur humain dans la mise en valeur." *I.B.L.A.* 21, no. 1 (1958) 43-59. An essay on the problems relating to the transition from a traditional to a modern economy.

11529 COHEN, BOAZ. "Testimonial compulsion in Jewish, Roman, and Moslem law." *J. Goldziber Memorial Vol. II*, (1958) 50-70, 215-7.

11530 Klimovich, L. "What an atheist should know about the Quran." *C.A. Rev.* 6, no. 4 (1958) 368-77. A valuable article revealing the continuing hostility with which the communists still regard the basic tenets of Islam.

11531 LAIDLAW, R. G. B. "Some reflections on nursing in the Middle East." *Arab World* 37 (O '58) 23-4. The greatest handicap faced by those concerned is that nursing is widely regarded as menial work.

11532 LELONG, M. "Une importante réalisation tunisienne: la réforme de l'enseignement." *I.B.L.A.* 21, no. 3 (1958) 297-320. A detailed account of the changes in the school system effected by the Bourguiba government.

11533 LELONG, M. "La vie intellectuelle et artistique en Tunisie: II—le cinéma." *I.B.L.A.* 20, no. 4 (1957) 381-92. Discusses the role of the cinema in the national and social life of the people.

11534 MAGNIN, J. "Un congrès médical à Tunis." *I.B.L.A.* 21, no. 3 (1958) 321-4. The June 1958 Congress of Arab Medicine, conducted almost entirely

in Arabic, marked the official return of the Maghrib into the cultural and scientific life of the Arab peoples.

11535 MAGNIN, J. "Médecine d'hier et médecins d'aujourd'hui." *I.B.L.A.* 20, no. 4 (1957) 393-416. Building on a long and splendid tradition, Tunisia has developed perhaps the most skilled doctors in North Africa.

11536 MAGNIN, J. "Réformes juridiques en Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 21, no. 1 (1958) 77-92. Analysis of some key decisions bearing on the evolution of the judiciary and on the way of life of the people.

11537 MASSIGNON, LOUIS. "La cité des morts au Caire (à l'Imām Shāfi'i)." *Les Mardis de Dar el-Salam MCMLV* (Paris) (1958) 5-20. Observations on the Qārāfa cemetery.

11538 PRITSCH, E. "Das tunesische Personenstandsgeetz." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 188-205. Analyzes the 1957 legislation on personal status.

11539 SALIBA, JAMIL. "The national trend in Arab education." (in Arabic) *al-Majallah* 33, (Ap '58) 238-58. Surveys the official regulations on education in the Arab states and tries to delineate the underlying educational philosophy. Among the weaknesses are: negativism, insistence on rights, but shirking of duties, insufficient adjustment to reality, and formalism.

11540 AS-SAMMĀN, MUHAMMAD 'ABDULLAH. "The principles of Islamic government." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 245-53. Translation and introduction by S. G. Haim. The pamphlet (1953) represents the views of the urban, semi-literate mass followers of the Muslim Brotherhood.

11541 SUTER, K. "Schulreformen im Mzab." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 235-44. The more liberal group will accept everything but coeducation.

11542 TÜMERTEKİN, EROL. "The distribution of sex ratios with special reference to internal migration in Turkey." *Rev. of the Geog. Institute* (Istanbul) no. 4 (1958) 9-32. Except in the purely rural areas, there is an excess of males throughout Turkey.

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, QUR'ĀN, AND THEOLOGY

11543 ARNALDEZ, R. "Histoire et prophétisme." *Les Mardis de Dar el-Salam MCMLV* (Paris) (1958) 21-54. Concludes with notes on this problem in Islam.

11544 BIHNĀM, G. P. "The sources of cognition in Ibn Sina." (in Arabic) *al-Majallah* 33 (Ap '58) 213-37.

11545 BRUNSCHWIG, R. "Sur la doctrine du Mahdi Ibn Tumart." *J. Goldziber Memorial Vol. II* (1958) 1-13. It was his claim of infallibility that set him outside the pale of orthodoxy.

11546 GALINDO-AGUILAR, E. "L'homme volant" d'Avicenne et le "cogito" de Descartes." *I.B.L.A.* 21, no. 3 (1958) 279-95. A comparative study of the two philosophers, the conclusion being that there are no important points of resemblance between them.

11547 HADDAD, SAMI I. and KHAIRULLAH, AMIN A. "A forgotten chapter in the history of the circulation of the blood." *Islamic Rev.* 46 (My-J '58) 45-7. Credits

Ibn al-Nafis with the first description of pulmonary circulation. Translated excerpts.

11548 KENNEDY, E. S. "The Sasanian astronomical handbook *Zij-i Shâb* and the astrological doctrine of 'transit' (*mamarr*)."*J.A.O.S.* 78 (O-D '58) 246-62. A treatise by al-Bîrûni sheds light on the Pahlavi astronomical tables, which are "a link in the tenuous and complicated network of relations connecting Babylonian, Hellenistic, Hindi, and pre-Islamic Iranian science."

11549 AL-MA'SÜMI, M. S. H., ed. "Ibn Bâjja's *K. an-Nafs*." (in Arabic) *al-Majallat* 23 (Ap '58) 278-301.

11550 NEMOY, LEON. "Ibn Kammûna's Treatise on the immortality of the soul." *I. Goldziber Memorial Vol. II* (1958) 83-99. Translation of a 13th cent. text by a distinguished liberal Jewish physician-philosopher of Baghdad.

11551 PERLMANN, MOSHE. "Asnawi's tract against Christian officials." *I. Goldziber Memorial Vol. II* (1958) 172-208. Text of a 14th cent. Egyptian pamphlet.

11552 ROZENFEL'D, B. A. and YUSHKEVICH, A. P. "The mathematics of the lands of the Near and Middle East in the Middle Ages." (in Russian) *Sov. Vost.* 4, no. 3 (1958) 101-8.

11553 THILLET, PIERRE. "Sagesse grecque et philosophie musulmane." *Le Mardi de Dar el-Salam* MCMLV (Paris) (1958) 55-93. Besides the high-level transmission of the Hellenistic heritage, there was the lower level of diffuse transmission of widely known maxims.

See also: 11584

ART

(*Archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts and papyri, minor arts, numismatics, painting and music*)

11554 JAWĀD, MUŞTAFĀ. "Al-Madrasa al-Mustansiria." (in Arabic) *Sumer* 14, nos. 1-2 (1958) 27-75. An historical study of the famous school in Baghdad.

11555 LELONG, M. "La vie intellectuelle et artistique en Tunisie—la peinture." *I.B.L.A.* 21, no. 1 (1958) 61-75. For a small country with a low standard of living, Tunisia has an extraordinary interest in art and many fine painters. Illust.

11556 AN-NAQSHABANDI, NĀŞIR. "The Umayyad dirhams of the pure Islamic type." (in Arabic) *Sumer* 14, nos. 1-2 (1958) 101-24.

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al-Andalus. 60 ptas.; single issue 30 ptas. *semi-ann* Secretaría, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Cambio Internacional Serrano 117, Madrid, Spain.

Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesinin Dergisi. 4 parts per ann Univ. of Ankara, Turkey.

Annales Archéologiques de Syrie. Syria, £S 20; foreign, £2 10s or equiv.; single issues £S 10, £1 5s. *semi-ann* Direction Générale des Antiquités de Syrie, Damascus, Syria.

Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. No fixed price. Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Faculté des Lettres, Algiers, Algeria.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Membership, U.S., \$5; Can., \$4.50; elsewhere, \$4; subscription, libraries and other institutions, \$6; single issue, mbrs. \$1.25, non-mbrs. \$2. *bi-m* American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Arab World. Town mbrs. £1 1s; country & overseas mbrs. 10s 6d. *q* Anglo-Arab Assn., 27 Eaton Place, London, S.W.1.

Arabica. fl. 26; fr. 2400. 3 issues per ann E. J. Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands; Librairie Orientale et Americaine G.P. Maison-neuve, 198, Blvd. St.-Germain, Paris 7e.

Archiv Orientální. Kčs.100; single issue Kčs.25. *q* Československá akademie ved Orientální ústav, Lázeňská 4, Praha III, Czechoslovakia.

Armenian Review. \$6; single issue \$1.75. *q* Hairenik Association, Inc., 212 Stuart St., Boston 16, Mass.

Ars Orientalis (formerly Ars Islamica). *irreg* Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D. C.

Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly. \$1. *q* The Art Institute, Adams St. at Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Artibus Asiae. Sw. fr. 50, \$12; single issue \$3.50. *q* Prof. Alfred Salmony, Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ., 17 E. 80th St., New York, N. Y.

Asiatische Studien. Sw. fr. 18 *q* A. Francke, A. G. Verlag, Bern, Switzerland.

Bulleten. *q* Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, Turkey.

Biblioteca Orientalis. \$9.50; single issue \$2. *bi-m* Dr. A. A. Kampman, ed., Noordeindeplein 4a, Leiden, The Netherlands.

British Museum Quarterly. £1; single issue 5s 3d. *q* Trustees of the British Museum, Gt. Russell St. London, W.C.1.

Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis. \$2, \$3 for two years; single issue 40¢, foreign, 75¢. *q* City Art Museum of St. Louis, Forest Park, St. Louis 5, Mo.

Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art. \$3; single issue 35¢. *m* (10 issues per ann) Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts. 80¢; single issue 25¢. *q* Detroit Institute of Arts, 5200 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Bulletin des Etudes Arabes. *bi-m* 175 Chemin du Telemly, Algiers, Algeria.

Bulletin de l'Institut du Desert Egyptien. By exchange or request. *semi-ann* M. Mitwally, Sec. Gen. de l'Institut du Desert Egyptien, Blvd. Sultan Hussein, Heliopolis, Egypt.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. £1 11s; single issue 15s 6d. *semi-ann* University Press, 316-324 Oxford Road, Manchester 13, England.

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. \$1; single issue 25¢. *q* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 15, Mass.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. £1 10s. 3 issues per year School of Oriental & African Studies, Univ. of London, London, W.C.1; agent: Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St., London, W.C.1.

Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery. \$1; single issue at Museum 10¢. *m* (Oct-May) Walters Art Gallery, Charles & Centre Sts., Baltimore 1, Md.

Burlington Magazine. UK, £3; foreign, \$10; single issue 5s, \$1. *m* Burlington Magazine, Lt., 12 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

Cahiers de Tunisie (formerly *Revue Tunisienne*). 1000 fr; foreign, 1200 fr; single issue 400 fr. *q*

L'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunisie, 2 rue de Souk-Ahras, Tunis, Tunisia.

The Caucasian Review. Institute for the Study of the USSR. Augartenstrasse, 46, Munich, Germany.

Central Asian Review. 30s; single issue 7s 6d. *q* Geoffrey Wheeler and David Footman, eds. 66 King's Road, London, S.W. 3.

Commentary. U.S., \$5; foreign, \$6; single issue 50¢. *m* American Jewish Committee, 34 W. 33rd St., New York 1, N. Y.

Current History. U.S., \$6; Can., \$6.25; elsewhere, \$6.50; single issue 50¢. *m* Events Publ. Co., 108-10 Walnut St., Philadelphia 6, Pa.

L'Egypte Contemporaine. Egypt, £E 1.50; foreign, £1 14s; single issue £E 40, 9s. *q* Boite Postale 732, Cairo.

L'Egypte Industrielle. Egypt, £E 1; foreign, £1 10s; single issue £E 15, 15s. *m* La Fédération Egyptienne de l'Industrie, Mahmoud Bayram, ed., 26a rue Cherif Pacha, Cairo.

Ethnos. Swed. cr. 15; single issue Swed. cr. 4. *q* Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm Ö, Sweden.

Faenza. Italy, lire 1000; foreign, lire 1500; single issue lire 200, lire 300. semi-ann Direzione del Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza, Italy.

Foreign Affairs. \$6; single issue \$1.50. *q* Council on Foreign Relations, 58 E. 68th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Geographical Journal. £1 16s; single issue 8s 6d. *q* Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London, S.W.7; agent: John Murray (Publ.), Ltd., 50 Albemarle St., London, W.1.

Geographical Review. \$7.50; single issue \$2. *q* American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th St., New York 32, N. Y.

Hamizrah Hehadash. Israel, £1 4; foreign \$6; single issue £1, \$1.25. *q* Israel Oriental Society, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel.

Héspéris. 2600 fr; single issue 1300 fr. semi-ann Secrétariat des Publications, Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Rabat, Morocco; agent: Librairie Larose, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5e.

IBLA. Tunisia and France, 850 fr; foreign, 1000 fr; single issue 215 fr, 250 fr. *q* Institut des Belles-Lettres, 12 rue Jamaa el Haoua, Tunis, Tunisia.

Ilahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi. Faculty of Divinity, Ankara Univ., Cebeci, Ankara, Turkey.

Illustrated London News. UK, £5 18s 6d; U.S., (British Edition) \$18, (American Edition) \$16.50; single issue 3s, 35¢. *w* 1 New Oxford St., London, W.C.1; agent: International News Company, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.

International Affairs. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$5; single issue 6s 6d, \$1.25. *q* Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London, S.W.1; 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.

International Social Science Bulletin. \$3.50; single issue \$1. *q* UNESCO, 19 avenue Kleber, Paris 16e; U.S. agent: Columbia Univ. Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27.

Iraq. £1 11s; single issue 18s. semi-ann British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 20 Wilton St., London, S.W.1.

Isis. \$7.50; single issue \$1.90. *q* History of Science Society, I. Bernard Cohen, ed., Widener Library 189, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Der Islam. DMW 28; single issue DMW 10. 3 issues per year Schriftleitung des Islams, Prof. Dr. R. Strothmann & Prof. Dr. B. Spuler, ed., Bornplatz 2, Hamburg 13, Germany; agent: Walter de Gruyter & Co., Genthiner Str. 13, Berlin W5 (U.S. Sector).

Islamic Culture. Sterling area, £1 10s; elsewhere, \$6; single issue 7s 6d, \$1.50. *q* Islamic Culture Board, POB 171, Hyderabad, India.

Islamic Literature. Pakistan, P.Rs. 10/-; foreign, \$3.50; single issue Pakistan, P.R. 1/-; foreign 30¢. *m* Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, Pakistan; agent: Orientalia, Inc., 11 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y.

Islamic Quarterly. 30s; single issue 7s 6d. *q* The Islamic Cultural Centre, Regent's Lodge, 146 Park Rd., London, N.W.8.

Islamic Review. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$3.75; single issue 2s 6d, 37¢. *m* Woking Muslim Mission & Literary Trust, Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England; Moslem Society of USA, 870 Castro St., San Francisco, Calif.; The International Muslim Society, Inc., POB 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York 27, N. Y.

Izvestiya Akademii Nauk—Otdeleniye Literatury i Yazyka.* \$4.50 or £1 10s; single issue 90¢, 6s plus postage. bi-m Moscow, USSR.

Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen. DMW 24. ann. Publ.: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co. Verlag, Fontenay 4, Hamburg 36, Germany.

Jewish Quarterly Review. \$6. *q* The Dropside College, Broad & York Sts., Philadelphia 32, Pa.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. \$8; libraries, \$7; single issue \$2. *q* American Oriental Society, 329 Sterling Memorial Library, New Haven, Conn.

Journal Asiatique. *q* Société Asiatique, 1 rue de Seine, Paris 6e.

Journal of Modern History. \$7.50; single issue \$2.25. *q* Univ. of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies. \$6 in U.S. and Pan American Postal Union; postage added outside PanAm Postal Union; single issue \$1.75. *q* Dept. of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Univ.

* Agents in the U.S. for Russian publications: Four Continent Book Corporation, 38 W. 58th St., New York 19, N. Y.; Universal Distributors, 52-54 W. 13th St., New York 11, N. Y.

of Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society. Rs. 10/- (Pakistani); single issue Rs. 3/- (Pakistani). *q* Pakistan Historical Society, 2/45 Jacob Lines, Karachi, Pakistan.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. £2 8s; single issue £1 10s. *semi-ann* Royal Asiatic Society, 56 Queen Anne St., London, W.1.

Journal of World History. See Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale.

Kirjath Sepher. \$5; single issue \$1.25. *q* Jewish National and Univ. Library, POB 503, Jerusalem, Israel.

al-Kulliya. £E .20; single issue £E .10. *semi-ann* Khartoum Univ. College, Khartoum, Sudan.

al-Machriq. Lebanon and Syria, £L 25; foreign, \$9; single issue £L 4.50. *2. bi-m* Fr. I-Abdo Khalifé, S.J., Univ. Saint Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon.

Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi. £S 10. *q* Damascus, Syria.

Man. £1 10s; single issue 2s 6d. *m* Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph. *irreg* Univ. Saint Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon; agent: Librairie Orientale, Place de l'Étoile, Beirut, Lebanon.

Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin. Free to mbrs.; subscr. \$5; single issue 50¢. *m* (Oct-June) *q* (July-Sept) Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. at 82nd St., New York 28, N. Y.

Middle East Forum. Lebanon and Syria, £L 10; Egypt £E 1.25; other Middle East countries, £L 11 or equivalent; elsewhere, \$5 or equivalent. *m* Alumni Office, American University of Beirut, Lebanon; U.S. agent: Helen Braun, Rm. 521, 40 Worth St., New York.

Middle East Journal. Free to mbrs.; subscr. \$6; single issue \$1.50. *q* Middle East Institute, 1761 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Middle Eastern Affairs. \$5—foreign and domestic; single issue—50¢, double issue—\$1. *m* (10 issues per ann) Council for Middle Eastern Affairs, 432 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Le Muséon. 300 Belg. fr. 2 double vols. per year Le Muséon, 9 Ave. des Hêtres, Héverlé-Louvain, Belgium.

Muslim World. \$3; single issue 75¢. *q* Dr. Kenneth Cragg, ed., Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford 5, Conn.

National Geographic Magazine. \$6.50; foreign, \$7.75; single issue 65¢, 75¢. *m* National Geographic Society, 16th & M Sts., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

New Times.* \$3.50 or 14s; single issue 10¢, 4d plus postage. *w* Moscow, USSR.

Oriens. TL15; \$5. *semi-ann* Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research, c/o E. J. Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands; agent for U.S. & Can.: Prof. Dr. Eberhard, 604 Panoramic Way, Berkeley, Calif.

Orient. *q* ed. Marcel Colombe, 114 Champs Elysées, Paris VIII.

Orientalische Literatur Zeitung. *q* J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, Scherlstr. 2, (10B) Leipzig, C1, Germany.

Oriente Moderno. \$8. *m* Instituto per l'Oriente, Viale Davide Lubin 2, Rome.

Palestine Exploration Quarterly. £1 1s. *semi-ann* Palestine Exploration Fund, 2 Hinde St., Manchester Square, London, W.1.

Politique Étrangère. 1800 fr; foreign, 2250 fr; single issue 330 fr. *bi-m* Centre d'Etudes de Politique Étrangère, 54 rue de Varenne, Paris 7e.

Proceedings Royal Society of Historical Studies. *irreg* 18 Ave. du Baron Empain, Heliopolis, Egypt.

Revue du Caire. Egypt, £E 2.25; foreign, 2000 fr; single issue £E .20, 200 fr. *m* 3 rue Dr. Ahmed Hamid Said, Cairo; Les Éditions des Cahiers du Sud, 28 rue du Four, Paris 6e.

Revue Egyptienne de Droit International. Egypt, £E 1; foreign, £E 1.25. *ann* Société Egyptienne de Droit International, 16 Ave. el-Malika, Cairo.

Revue des Etudes Islamiques. 12 rue Vavin, Paris 6e.

Revue Historique. France, 1500 fr; foreign, 1750 fr; single issue 450 fr. *q* Prof. Pierre Renouvin, ed., 7 Place de la Sorbonne, Paris 5e; Presses Universitaires de France, 108 Blvd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6e.

Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Lire 3000. *q* Istituto di Studi Orientali, Univ. di Roma, Roma.

Rocznik Orientalny. Warsaw, Poland.

Round Table. UK, £1 10s; foreign, \$5; single issue 7s 6d, \$1.25. *q* 15 Ormond Yard, Duke of York St., London, S.W.1.

Royal Central Asian Journal. £1 5s; single issue 7s 6d, July/Oct double number 9s 6d, plus postage. *q* Royal Central Asian Society, 2 Hinde St., Manchester Square, London, W.1.

Saeculum (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte). DMW 24; single issue DMW 7. *q* Verlag Karl Alber, Johannisstr. 4, Freiburg/Breisgau; V. Karl Alber, Freiburg-München, Germany.

Sovetskaja Etnografia.* \$7.50 or £1 10s; single issue \$2.10, 8s 6d plus postage. *q* Moscow, USSR.

Speculum. Free to mbrs.; subscr \$7. *q* Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge 38, Mass.

Studia Islamica. Single issue, 650 fr. *semi-ann* Editions Larose, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5e.

Sudan Notes & Records (incorporating Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan). Sudan and Egypt, £E .75; foreign, 18s; single issue £E .40, 9s. *semi-ann* G. N. Sanderson, ed., POB 555, Khartoum, Sudan; agent: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Gt. Russell St., London, W.C.1.

Sumer (Journal of Archaeology in Iraq). Iraq, £1 1; foreign, £1 10s; single issue 10s, 15s. *semi-ann* Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad, Iraq.

Tamuda. Spain & Span. Morocco, 100 ptas; foreign,

\$4; single issue 60 ptas., \$2.50. *semi-ann* Delegación de Educación y Cultura, Tetuan, Spanish Morocco.

Tarbiz. \$5. q Magnes Press, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel.

U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings. \$5; foreign, \$6; single issue 50¢. m Cdr. Roy de S. Horn, ed., U.S. Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md.

Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. DMW 40; single issue DMW 20. *semi-ann* Prof. Julius von Farkas, ed., Hospitalstr. 10, Göttingen; Publ.: Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR.* \$8 or £2; single issue 80¢, 4s plus postage. m Moscow, USSR.

Vestnik Drevnej Istorii.* \$8 or £2; single issue \$2, 12s plus postage. a Moscow, USSR.

Voprosy Istorii.* \$5; single issue 50¢ plus postage. m Moscow, USSR.

Die Welt des Islams. Gld. 25; \$6.60. q Prof. G. Jäschke, ed., (21a) Munster (Westf.), Tondernstr. 5, Germany; Publ.: E. J. Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. *irreg* Orientalisches Institut der Universität Wien, Hanuschgasse 3/II, Vienna I, Austria.

World Today. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$5; single issue 2s, 45¢. m Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London, S.W.1; 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. *semi-ann* Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GMBH, Wiesbaden, Germany.

ABBREVIATIONS

A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique	Mag., Magazine	Univ., University, université
Acad., Academy	Mid., Middle	Z., Zeitschrift, Zeitung
Aff., Affairs, affaires	Mod., Modern, moderno, etc.	Arabic
Afr., African, Afrique, etc.	Mus., Museum, musée	
Amer., American	Natl., National	K., Kitab, etc.
Archeol., Archaeological, archéologique	Nr., Near	Maj., Majallah, etc.
B., Bulletin	Numis., Numismatic, numismatique	Russian, Polish, etc.
C., Central	O., Oriental, oriente, etc.	
Cent., Century	Pal., Palestine	Akad., Akademii
Contemp., Contemporary, etc.	Phil., Philosophical	Fil., Filosof
Cult., Culture	Philol., Philological, Philologique	Inst., Institut
D., Deutsch	Polit., Political, Politique	Ist., Istorii
Dept., Department	Proceed., Proceedings	Izvest., Izvestia
East., Eastern	Quart., Quarterly	Lit., Literaturi
Econ., Economic, économique	R., Royal	Orient., Orientalni
For., Foreign	Res., Research	Ser., Seriya
G., Gesellschaft	Rev., Review, revue	Sov., Sovetskoye
Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc.	Riv., Rivista	Uchon., Uchoniye
Gt. Brit., Great Britain	S., School	Vostok., Vostokovedenia
Hist., Historical, historique, etc.	Soc., Society, société	Yaz., Yazika
Illust., Illustrated	Stud., Studies	Zap., Zapiski
Inst., Institute	Trans., Transactions	Turkish
Internat., International	U.S., United States	
J., Journal	USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist	Fak., Fakulté
L., Literature, etc.	Republics	Univ., Universite
M., Morgenländisch, etc.		

Readers' Commentary

The Journal welcomes comment from its readers. All communications should be addressed to the Editor and bear the full name and address of the writer. A selection of those received will be published periodically in this column, preference being given to those which correct errors of fact, offer constructive criticism of an opinion expressed, or provide additional information on a topic discussed in the Journal's pages.

Dear Sir:

It was profitable to read in your issue No. 2 of Vol. 12 (Spring), 1958, the comprehensive review-article on available materials regarding dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, written by my Aramco colleague Dr. R. A. C. Goodison while he was a Fellow of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University.

I wish to make comment stemming from the gratifying mention by Dr. Goodison of some of the published work on the still surviving non-Arabic languages of the southern mainland and insular regions: Mahri (not "Mehri"), Harsusi, Baṭhari, Shahri (not "Shkhauri"), and Socotri.

Much more material exists on the contemporary forms of the southern tongues. This is specifically true as regards volumes and articles, other than those indicated, which grew directly or indirectly out of the historic expedition of the Austrian Academy of Sciences to the regions concerned in 1898 and following.* (See bibliographical data at end.)

Although their own interrelations are not yet exactly known, the five surviving southern tongues are not dialects of Arabic. They are a group of languages, belonging, of course, to the same Semitic family as Arabic. They have close affinities in various respects with Arabic, Ethiopic, Assyro-Babylonian, and Aramaic—especially the latter. They are related to—but not necessarily derived from—the tongues of the Ancient South (western) Arabian Kingdoms, documented by thousands of inscriptions dating from before the rise of Arabic itself as a literary language.

With the end of the old South Arabian era and the dawning of a new Arabic age through Islam and the written language associated with the Koran, the historic languages of the southern regions ceased to be written. Thus the beautifully formed South Arabian alphabet—

which like the later Arabic one attests to the artistic ability of its creators—went out of use. It is probable that for many centuries all writing in the south has been in the Arabic alphabet and the Arabic language. However, some varieties of the old languages survived in oral form. The present-day non-Arabic tongues, as their names denote, live on in their character as spoken languages largely limited to certain tribes—although they are known also by the neighboring population. These tribes are: al-Mahrah, al-Harāsī, al-Baṭāhirah, and al-Shahrah. In case of the last, an invading people, al-Qarā' of the frankincense mountains in Dhufar, added themselves to preservers of the historic tongues by adopting the language of al-Shahrah, whom they made their vassals. The people of Socotra (Suqutrā) are a special case, being instead of a tribe an insular enclave of mixed race, whose language is also a mixture. It appears to be basically Mahri, with a large measure of borrowing both from Arabic and from the speech of coastal East Africa.

As centuries passed these languages, like all others, experienced inevitable change. Their history became forever lost through the lack of written records to preserve and reflect it. The nearest approach to materials for their history may be found in the great mass of non-Arabic geographical names. Such linguistic monuments, especially among people concerned with survival through preservation of the tribal group and therefore of the tribal language, tend strongly to persist. Today, despite the rise of many Arabic place names through thirteen Islamic centuries, one finds an amazingly large proportion of the geographical names, topographical terms, and even names of tribes or tribal sections, and of individuals, to be not in Arabic but in one or the other of its obscurer sister tongues of the south. Still other names, also

geographical, tribal, and personal, have been taken into Arabic, by either partial change or complete translation. At the same time, the non-Arabic languages have been influenced in various ways and degrees by Arabic. All of this, of course, has been only natural, and even more so in view of the kinship between the long juxtaposed languages and the fairly frequent intermarriage between the peoples speaking them.

Suppose an international body, a government, an industrial enterprise, or a scientific institute wished to obtain a respectably thorough knowledge of the geography, tribes, and social and economic conditions of these southern regions. If a competent Semitist who was at the same time a practical Arabist were available, and if he were given facilities, bilingual secretarial assistance, and encouragement for the unimaginably difficult and abstruse research, he might obtain the data and complete the exposition within three to five years. Otherwise, the desired goal would have to be set ahead for about thirty years, and urgent search instituted among newly born babes for a potential genius, who should be enrolled forthwith for his twentieth to twenty-fifth years in the best known school of oriental studies. Even so, and not to speak of adequate training in geography, economics, sociology, etc., it would have to be sure that, having gained a proper reading knowledge of four or five European languages—especially German—he would come out with a masterly knowledge of comparative Semitic grammar and of the dozen or so ancient and modern Semitic languages, a practical facility in spoken Arabic, and a linguistic adaptability in understanding dialectical speech.

Such a Semitist—and I repeat that even an expert Arabist, without skill in the cognate languages, cannot do the job—must begin his work by experiencing himself with the vocabulary and the concepts and actualities of tribal life, organization, and relationships, as these pertain to southern Arabia. At the very beginning, also, no matter how much bookish knowledge he may have of the southern tongues, he must devote himself intensively to a practical orientation into them with the help of native speakers. In so doing he will find himself struggling not only with five non-Arabic lan-

guages but also with several dialects thereof—and at the same time learning southern dialects of Arabic, which, of course, will be the media of his instruction and of his continuing investigation. Even the most experienced Semitist, with a thorough grasp of all that has been written specifically on the southern tongues, will often find himself having to blaze his own trail. For one thing, if his written exposition and his maps are to be understood by anyone else, he will have to work out systems of transliteration—one for scientific use and another for popular presentation. This is necessary because he will discover strange consonantal and vocal sounds, for the representation of which there are no adequate symbols.

I blundered into this abstruse but fascinating field with the best and most practical of motives. Studying the geography of the Empty Quarter, I soon perceived that nothing definitive could be done without first establishing some coherence out of the universal confusion in southern geographical and other names. (Why! oh why, did not Bertram Thomas, Wilfred Thesiger, and other non-German-speaking travelers before them, bone more on Arabic grammar, and learn something of its sister languages! By so doing, or by obtaining expert linguistic help, they could have considerably enhanced the value of their achievements. And, oh, that the Austrian scholars, and those who have followed them, had devoted more attention to obviously important things such as place names!)

My little project, done in an obscure corner, had to be undertaken and persisted in against great difficulties. There was no opportunity for resharpening of linguistic tools left over from some study of comparative Semitics twenty-five years ago. Nevertheless, I did have the fortunate chance—and took advantage of it as, apparently, no one else has done—to select speakers of the various languages, to tape-record from them geographical, tribal, and linguistic data, and to sketch with their aid a large number of area and district maps covering the borderlands of the Empty Quarter. Thus has been made what is perhaps the first concerted attempt to clarify the many non-Arabic geographical and other names of southern Arabia.

The chief practical results include: 1) the draft of a volume containing descriptive material assembled nowhere else on extensive areas of the Rub' al-Khali; 2) a provisional map that is unique for the region concerned; 3) a personal knowledge of the geography, topography, tribes and tribal relations, and languages and dialects of southern Arabia. Thus, with thanks to those who have gone before, I have made considerable progress both in following them, and in the practical field of geographical nomenclature have gone beyond them. Now, as practical need arises, I can at least do intelligent research on matters South Arabian, including solving the occasional poser of a place name in one of the non-Arabic tongues. And soon, hopefully, the painful delay in refurbishing the requisite linguistic tools will be over.

The first opportunity to bring this endeavor to public notice was through a brief paper which, along with tape-recordings by native speakers, was presented in 1957 at Munich during the twenty-fourth session of the International Congress of Orientalists. The interest evinced by scholars was gratifying.

Meanwhile the project is shelved. However, even in the midst of other work which for its amount, variety, and importance is all-engaging, I occasionally dust it off, and long for the time when it may be completed for publication.

CHARLES D. MATTHEWS
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

*More recent contributions are:

Lexique Socotri (Sudarabique Moderne) avec Comparaisons . . . (la Société de Linguistique, Collection Linguistique—XL) Paris, Klincksieck, 1938, by Dr. Wolf Leslau, now of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Syntax der Mehri-Sprache, unter Berücksichtigung auch der anderen Neusüdarabischen Sprachen, Pub. No. 13 of the Institute for Oriental Research of the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 1953, by Dr. Ewald Wagner (who deserves a professorial post instead of a library position, even at Mainz!).

These and other materials are duly listed in one or the other of the following: 1) The admirably detailed article, "Éléments de Bibliographie Sud-Sémitique," in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris, Année 1953 (pub. 1957), by Youakim Moubarac (Associate of the National Centre for Scientific Research), or 2) that boon of a volume, *Index Islamicus* (1906-1955), Heffer, Cambridge, 1958 (compiled by J. D. Pearson with assistance of Julia F. Ashton, on the basis of a card-index bibliography

kept current in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

These guides, or those in the works by Leslau and Wagner, give note of other bibliographies, including that by the Reverend Father Henri Fleisch of the University of Saint Joseph, Beirut, and another separate one by Leslau. Not to be overlooked are more general ones published by the Library of Congress, 1951 (Near East Section, Orientalia Division), and by the University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1953-1957 (four volumes, compiled by Dr. Henry Field, covering the years 1940-1956—now supplemented by a fifth, 1958, by Eric Macro).

Outstanding on the subject, although needing revision, are the two articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: "Mahra," by Tkatsch, and "Mehri," by Brockelmann.

In all of these together one may find his way to the material, beginning with the very earliest Western mention of the southern non-Arabic tongues. None of them, however, will include the latest published work which I have seen noted—namely, Dr. Leslau's *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon*, U. Calif. Pubs. in Semitic Philology, (Berkeley?), 1958, 76 pages.

No doubt a popularized presentation of the difficult subject—and yet a more scientific one than Bertram Thomas's "Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia . . .," may be found in Leslau's "Four Modern South Arabic Languages," *Word*, 3, 1947. (See item 23080 in *Index Islamicus*.) Incidentally, one might prefer "South Arabian." But a difficulty is how to distinguish in the Arabic language itself, between "Arabic" and "Arabian!"

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I would like to correct a certain statement that appeared in the Spring 1958 edition of your Journal in the article on Recruitment and Training of Labour. The author says that it is simple for Arabs from the neighbouring countries to assume Bahrain nationality. In fact the Bahrain nationality Law applies to all foreigners wishing to adopt Bahrain nationality whatever their countries of origin. Conditions for the adoption of Bahrain nationality include the possession of land, a knowledge of Arabic, a clean police record and the approval of the Ruler. The comparatively small number of foreigners able to acquire Bahrain nationality can be seen from a perusal of the Government official gazette in which notifications of change of nationality are published.

JAMES H. D. BELGRAVE,
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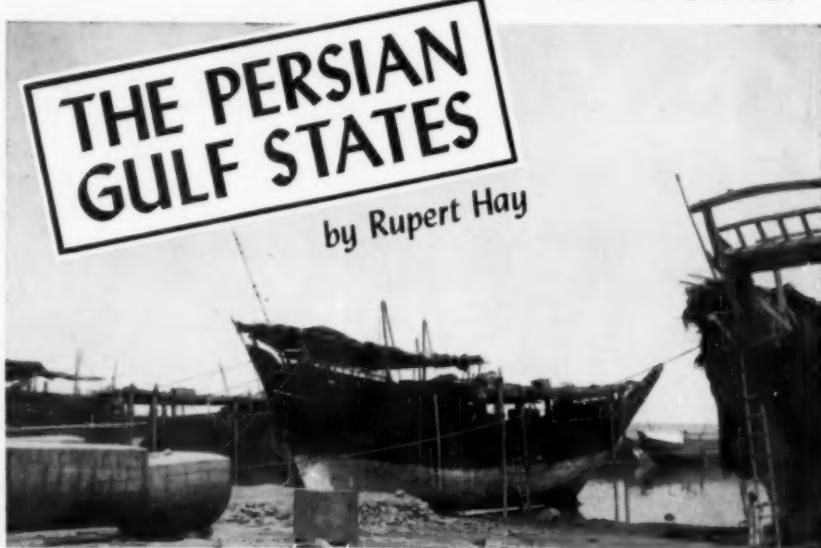
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